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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 249



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# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 249

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WESTERN EUROPEAN ASSEMBLY STRESSES SOVIET ARMS THREAT

OW041917 Beijing XINHUA in English 1852 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Paris, 3 December (XINHUA)--The four-day autumn session of the Western European Assembly closed here today.

Discussions at the meeting focused on the growing threat posed by the Soviet massive accumulation of arms in Europe. The participants in the meeting expressed worry and grave concern over this, and called for vigilance against the Soviet stand in the current U.S.-Soviet nuclear talks in Geneva.

The meeting discussed the following four reports: "Reexamination of the Dangers to World Peace and the Security of Western Europe"; "European Security and the South Atlantic"; "The Cooperation Between the United States and Europe in the Domain of Sophisticated Technology"; and "The Implications of the Law of the Sea Conference."

Delivering the first report on behalf of the General Affairs Commission, Jacques Baumel said that "the balance of power that had been ensured in the past 30 years has been severely affected by the Soviet massive accumulation of arms in Europe which is directed at the Atlantic Alliance, while the Atlantic Alliance has no means at its disposal to deal with these armaments."

Addressing the meeting, secretary of the French defense Ministry (George Lemoine) pointed out that "there no longer exists a balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union in terms of armaments." Criticizing the pacifist movement now in the offing in Western Europe, he said that "there are people who are more afraid of the arms protecting their freedom than they do those weapons directly targeted at them." [Sentence as received]

British minister of state for the armed forces (Peter Blaker), in a reference to the U.S.-Soviet nuclear talks in Geneva, pointed out that "we must be quite firm in our resolve not to modify NATO's modernization plans unless and until concrete and binding results are achieved through negotiations." Warning against the Soviet calculation to prolong the talks until NATO's plans fail by default, he pointed out that "we must constantly guard against the danger of the zero option becoming zero on one side only."

Blaker advised those who blamed the West for possessing nuclear arms and clamoring stridently for one-sided nuclear disarmament or for European nuclear free zones to "look a little more carefully at what the Soviet Union and its allies have been doing."

Italian Defense Minister Lelio Lagorio, addressing the meeting, said that "if the Geneva talks on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons fail in 1983, the NATO decision to deploy 572 Pershing-II and cruise missiles should be carried out."

The Western European Assembly, with Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg as its member nations, meets twice--in spring and autumn--annually with the aim of promoting the unification of Western Europe and advancing cooperation in collective defence.

CSO: 4000/31

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT PRESIDENT VISITS EGYPT

OW072024 Beijing XINHUA in English 1914 GMT 7 Dec 81

[Text] Cairo, 7 December (XINHUA)--European Parliament President Simone Veil told reporters after talks with President Husni Mubarak today that a Middle East peace settlement can be achieved only on the basis of recognition of each country's right to exist and respect for each country's sovereignty.

She said that peace cannot be achieved suddenly but is a continuous process and that negotiations must continue. The next step is the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, she added.

Veil, who just concluded a five-day visit to Egypt as guest of the Egyptian parliament, discussed with Mubarak and other [words indistinct] leaders political and economic cooperation between Egypt and the West European community. Mubarak expressed the hope that Western Europe would continue supporting Egypt. Speaker Sofi Abu Taleb [name as received] underlined Egypt's belief in the importance of the European role in restoring peace in the Middle East.

Veil told reporters that the European position is based, in the first place, on taking advantage of what has been achieved by the Camp David accords and then moving forward from this concept to achieve a comprehensive settlement.

She pointed out that Europe's participation in a Sinai peacekeeping force would not change its position towards its relations with the states and people of the area.

Earlier, Veil told the Egyptian parliament that the West European community would shoulder all its responsibilities towards promoting implementation of the Camp David accords and the search for developing the various possibilities.

She stressed the importance of economic and trade relations between the common market and Egypt, pointing to the fact that 28 percent of Egypt's exports is to the community.

CSO: 4000/31

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FRG GOVERNMENT, OPPOSITION ON MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

OW041709 Beijing XINHUA in English 1631 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Bonn, 3 December (XINHUA)--The West German Government and its opposition parties said today that West Germany will begin deploying medium-range nuclear weapons on its soil in late 1983 if the ongoing U.S.-Soviet Union Geneva talks on the reduction of European medium-range nuclear weapons does not produce concrete results by then.

During a debate in parliament on foreign and security policies, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said his government has promoted the commencement of the Geneva talks "to the best of its ability."

"The attempt to freeze the present imbalance (of nuclear weapons) through negotiations is not acceptable," Schmidt said.

Opposition party leader Helmut Kohl said he favors the country's policy for the understanding of and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

However, while commenting on Soviet Union President Leonid Brezhnev's statement on peace during his visit to Bonn late last month, Kohl said that even while Brezhnev talks about peace, the Soviet army is continuing its aggression in Afghanistan.

Chairman of the West German Christian Social Union Franz Fosef Strauss sharply criticized some social democrats, who challenge the deadline for deploying medium-range missiles in West Germany. The time limit that was jointly agreed cannot be extended because the Western Alliance will split."

Strauss' criticism reportedly was issued in response to statements made by Willy Brandt, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, who hinted last weekend that the time limit for supplementary armament might be extended beyond 1983.

CSO: 4000/31

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

AUSTRIA'S KREISKY CALLS FOR PALESTINIAN STATE

OW061846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 6 Dec 81

[Text] Kuwait, 6 December (XINHUA)--Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky today called here for the establishment of a Palestinian state bordering Israel and stressed that no settlement to the Middle East conflict will be possible without solving the Palestine problem.

At a press conference held here at the end of a 24-hour visit to Kuwait, Kreisky urged Palestinians to vindicate their rights to the world so as to win more friends to their cause.

Kreisky said Israel will face worldwide isolation if it continues to follow the present policy, especially at a time when there is changing public opinion in Europe and U.S. in favor in the Arab cause. He recalled that he had warned Israeli Minister of Interior Yosef Burg of this danger during the latter's recent visit to Vienna, when he told Burg that "the Israelis are doing nothing to make peace and that they are dealing with the problem in a wrong way."

The strategic cooperation agreement signed recently between the United States and Israel could possibly complicate the situation in the Middle East, Kreisky noted.

Kreisky ruled out the possibility of Israel becoming a NATO member, saying the European countries will strongly oppose any attempt in this direction.

Kreisky stressed the importance of economic cooperation between the Arab world and Europe. "Europe needs the Arab world much more than the U.S. needs the Arabs because of the present natural inter-connection between Europe and the Arab world," he said.

The chancellor's visit here was crowned with the signing of a first agreement on economic, technical and industrial cooperation between the two countries. He left here for Bahrain this afternoon.

CSO: 4000/31

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### KABUL POSTING INTELLIGENCE AGENTS AS DIPLOMATS

OW031830 Beijing XINHUA in English 1652 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 3 December (XINHUA)--Afghanistan's Karmal regime recently posted about 10 Soviet-trained intelligence agents as diplomats to embassies in countries "including Pakistan and Iran to incite trouble," a former Afghan Foreign Ministry official said today. The information was released by Mohammad Daoud Mahabbat, 35, a former director of the first political department of the Afghan Foreign Ministry who defected to Pakistan in November.

The Soviet-trained agents, Mahabbat said in Islamabad today, were assigned as first and second secretaries in the past 4 months to encourage subversion in Pakistan and Iran.

"We know their duties are to cause difficulties among refugees and to make disturbances in host countries," Mahabbat told reporters. The agents accounted for about one half of the Karmal regime's recent diplomatic appointments, he said.

Mahabbat also said the agents, members of the Afghan Intelligence Service, received training in the Soviet Union before being assigned to the embassies. "They have never filed a report to the foreign ministry since taking up their postings," he noted.

Mahabbat also said the Afghan Foreign Ministry has been reduced "to a mere translation service" with decisions being made by Soviet advisers.

The Soviets, he said, are investigating top-secret foreign ministry papers going back many years, including messages from the United States and other Western countries.

"Just before I left, the Russians took away seven cupboards full of top secret documents. They included old maps of the Iran and Pakistan border. We have no national secrets left, which is very painful," Mahabbat said.

CSO: 4000/31



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

VISA AGREEMENT WITH POLAND SUSPENDED--Vienna, 7 December (XINHUA)-- The Austrian Government has decided to suspend as of today the visa-exemption regulation for Polish citizens entering Austria. It will inform the Polish Government through diplomatic channels of Austria's decision to suspend for the time being the 1972 agreement on mutual exemption from visas. According to the Austrian paper DIE PRESSE, the decision was taken because large numbers of Poles were swarming into Austria for transit to some Western countries. Most of them were seeking settlement in the United States. But these countries, particularly the United States, were not willing to accept them. As a result, these Poles had to stay on in Austria. It is reported that in the first 11 months of this year, there were 25,000 Poles seeking political asylum in the country. Specialists estimate that about 35,000 to 40,000 Poles are staying in Austria as tourists. Austria will have to spend some 700 million shillings on those seeking asylum this year, which is a heavy burden for the country's economy. The Austrian minister of the interior himself expressed doubts about the effectiveness of the government decision. The minister told newsmen not long ago that neither a decision by Australia, Canada or the United States to allow more Poles to enter their countries, nor Austria's suspension of visa-free regulation can settle the problem of the exodus of Poles. [Text] [OW080822 Beijing XINHUA in English 0811 GMT 8 Dec 81]

SOVIETS END VISIT TO IRAQ--Baghdad, 6 December (XINHUA)--A Soviet delegation left here for Moscow today after a six-day visit. The delegation was led by Pavel Georgiyevich Gilashvili, vice president of the presidium of the supreme Soviet of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic and chairman of the council of ministers of the Georgian SSR. According to Iraqi news paper AL THAWRAH, Gilashvili told the Iraq news agency before his departure that the visit will strengthen the "friendship and cooperative relations" between the Soviet Union and Iraq, which are based on "common interests and mutual respect." The news paper also said that Iraqi First Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan stressed the importance of strengthening relations between the two countries during his meeting with the Soviet delegation on Sunday. [Text] [OW071844 Beijing XINHUA in English 1505 GMT 7 Dec 81]

POLISH GOVERNMENT WARNS SOLIDARITY--Warsaw, 6 December (XINHUA)--The Polish Government today accused the Solidarity Union leadership of "refusing to take part in national consultations and choosing confrontation instead." In an authorized statement to the press, the government spokesman warns the Solidarity against "political adventurism" because of the risks its 3 December decision would entail,



risks, he said, which can "hardly be foreseen." The presidium of the national commission of the Solidarity and the leaders of the local chapters met on 3 December and passed a decision accusing the government of undermining the prospects for national accord and threatened to call a nationwide general strike. The government spokesman's statement today followed yesterday's Politburo meeting of the United Workers' Party which discussed political and social problems facing the country. The Solidarity decision, the spokesman pointed out, meant that the union "refuses to strive for national accord" and Zhas brought about a political situation fraught with new and most serious consequences." He went on to say that the decision "has dimmed the hope" for a compromise and mutual understanding between the government and the Solidarity by means of negotiations. "One thing is certain," he said, "no one can destroy the statehood of socialism. If this reminder is not served, the cost to be paid for political adventurism can hardly be foreseen." [Text] [OW071214 Beijing XINHUA in English 1701 GMT 7 Dec 81]

UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION WORSENS IN U.S.--Beijing, 5 December (XINHUA)--The number of unemployed in the United States rose to more than nine million in November or 8.4 percent of the labor force, according to reports from Washington quoting a U.S. Government announcement yesterday. The news was described as a "tragedy" by President Reagan. The overall rate was the highest since the 1974-75 recession. Western news reports indicated that "the current U.S. recession, the eighth since World War Two, may be much more severe than originally thought." The U.S. Labor Department said nearly all groups of workers were affected by the over-the-month increase, but the jump was especially large for those in blue-collar occupations. Unemployment has risen by 1.5 million since last July with three-quarters of the increase attributable to layoffs, the Labor Department revealed. The U.S. Commerce Department reported Thursday that orders for manufactured goods fell by 5.2 percent in October, raising the prospect of further layoffs. Many American economists believe the unemployment rate will climb to 9 percent before the slide ends. [Text] [OW050912 Beijing XINHUA in English 0828 GMT 5 Dec 81]

SUPPORT FOR CUBA PLEDGED--Havana, 4 December (XINHUA)--Visiting Soviet Deputy Minister of Defense Alexandr I. Koldunov accused the United States of launching "an anti-Cuban campaign" and pledged that his country would side with Cuba "in opposing the U.S. aggressive attempt." This statement was made recently when he was attending an occasion celebrating Cuba's army day here. He said the United States is aggravating the tension in the region by putting pressure on a number of independent nations and preparing for a new aggression against Cuba. The local press reported that during his stay here, Koldunov had held talks with Cuban Minister of Revolutionary Armed Forces Raul Castoruz. He was also briefed about the carrying out of missions by Cuban officers. Koldunov headed a high-ranking Soviet military delegation on a week-long visit to Cuba and left here for home yesterday. [Text] [OW050748 Beijing XINHUA in English 0721 GMT 5 Dec 81]

KREISKY ON MIDEAST, SAUDI PROPOSAL--Kuwait, 4 December (XINHUA)--Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky today accused Israel of showing little interest in realizing peace in the Middle East. Any lasting settlement in the region is impossible without the establishment of a state for the Palestinian people, he said. In an interview with the Kuwaiti news agency in Vienna on the eve of his visit to Kuwait, Bahrain and the United Arab Emirates, Kreisky emphasized that the Palestine problem is the central issue of the Middle East crisis. He said that the U.S. admin-

istration should recognize the Palestire Liberation Organization and that the PLO should take part in any negotiations for a settlement of the Middle East crisis. On the Saudi 8-point proposal, he said that "Fahd's plan" is so important "not because it is the ultimate wisdom, but because it is an attempt to escape a hopeless situation in an indeed constructive manner." The chancellor warned of a looming danger--a direct shooting war between Israel and Syria and a terrible escalation of rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. Referring to his forthcoming visit in the Arab gulf region, Kreisky hoped to discuss economic relations with the leaders there and to exchange views on "North-South" as well as "East-West" problems. [Text] [OWO50306 Beining XINHUA in English 0252 GMT 5 Dec 81]

U.S. SUPPORT FOR TURKEY--Ankara, 5 December (XINHUA)--U.S. Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger wound up his 3-day official visit here today announcing that his talks with the Turkish leaders had focused on the possible threat from the Soviet Union. Weinberger was received by Turkish Head of State General Kenan Evren and Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu during his visit here. He also had talks with Defence Minister Umit Haluk Bayulken. They exchanged views on defence matters concerning the two countries. According to a joint statement issued here this afternoon, the two countries agreed to improve the arms and equipment of the Turkish armed forces and strengthen the defence posutre on NATO's South-Eastern flank. The two defence ministers agreed that an economically and militarily strong Turkey is vital to NATO's deterrent capabilities and will constitute an important element of stability in the region. Weinberger pledged his country's eonomic and military aid to Turkey in the joint statement. They also decided to establish a high-level joint defence group to determine future measures on defence cooperation between the two countries. Weinberger left here this afternoon for Naples, Italy. [Text] [OWO51922 Beijin XINHUA in English 1844 GMT 5 Dec 81]

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## PARTY AND STATE

### GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR CONSTITUTION OUTLINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061]: "Learning About the Constitution, VIII"]

[Text] The Text of the Constitution Must be Explicit, Specific and Rigorous

In his speech at the first plenary session of the Constitutional Reform Committee in September 1980, Comrade Ye Jianying [0673 0494 5391] pointed out: The text of many provisions in the current Constitution, which serves as the great basic law of the state, are not sufficiently complete, rigorous specific and explicit. This is a problem which we must try to solve in our revision of the current Constitution. As to the need for the text of the constitution to be explicit, specific and compact, the best of the three Constitutions that our country promulgated since liberation was the 1954 Constitution and the worst the 1975 Constitution.

The text of the constitution must be explicit. This points to the fact that its content must express clear and distinct concepts and its demarcation lines must be clearly defined. For instance, the 1975 Constitution stipulates: "The basic rights and duties of the citizens are: support of the leadership of the CCP, support of the socialist system and obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the PRC." This is lumping together rights and duties which are two distinctly different concepts.

The three items mentioned in this phrase had to be duties of the citizen and not rights of the citizens. Duties prescribed by the Constitution or by the laws must be complied with by the citizens, but the rights that they enjoy may or may not be exercised by them. If obeying the Constitution and the laws becomes a right of the citizens, they could then also be free not to exercise these rights, that means they would be free not to obey the laws. This is of course wrong. Besides, this text has yet another defect: it gives the impression as if there are no more than these three basic rights and duties of the citizens. The facts are actually quite different. As yet another example, the 1975 Constitution stipulates: "In counterrevolutionary criminal cases of major importance, the masses should be mobilized for discussion and criticism," and the current Constitution stipulates: "In counterrevolutionary cases and criminal cases of major importance, the masses should be mobilized for discussion and are to put forward proposals as to how the cases should be dealt with." Both formulations are not distinct and precise, because not all criminal cases are counterrevolutionary cases, counterrevolutionary cases are merely one kind of criminal cases. The correct formulation would be: "In counterrevolutionary cases of major

importance and other criminal cases of major importance..." Furthermore, what are the specific criteria for the term "of major importance?" As to the opinions of the masses put forward after discussion, are they to count or are they submitted merely as a reference for the People's Court to determine guilt and fix the penalty? All this is not explicit and therefore difficult to implement.

The text of the constitution must be specific. This points to the fact that its content cannot be overgeneral and abstract; what has to be expressed as principles must be fully stated as principles, and concrete things have to be expressed in full concreteness. Otherwise, some content of absolute importance might be omitted or leave people at a loss as to what course to follow. For instance, the 1975 Constitution, in its section on the functions and powers of the National People's Congress, deleted much important material originally contained in the 1954 Constitution, such as "supervising the enforcement of the Constitution," "deciding the question of war and peace," "approving the delineation of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government." This leaves unclear by whom these highly important functions and powers are to be exercised. The 1975 Constitution decided not to establish the position of state chairman. The 1954 Constitution prescribed many functions and powers that are to be exercised by the state chairman, such as "awarding the country's decorations and honorary titles, promulgating general amnesties and pardons, proclaiming martial law, declaring a state of war, issuing mobilization orders," which functions can nowhere be found in the 1975 Constitution. If the above important functions cannot be exercised by anybody or are left to be exercised by everybody, the state machinery will be in a complete muddle.

The text of the constitution must be rigorous. This points to the fact that its meaning must be precisely expressed and tightly logical. For instance, Article 11 of the 1954 Constitution stipulates: "The state protects the lawful income of the citizens." This is proper and correct. However, this is changed in Article 9 of the 1975 Constitution to: "The state protects the work income, but certainly "lawful" income and deserve protection. What is to be said with the above is that the specific concepts used in the terms of the constitution must express the meaning with precision. Another thing is that the whole meaning of the terms used in the constitution must be expressed with tight logic. For instance, the three constitutions of our country only stipulate the democratic rights and freedoms that our citizens shall be allowed to enjoy, but exercising these democratic rights and freedoms is not absolute and has to be restricted in certain respects. However, our constitutions have no provisions on that aspect. The majority of foreign constitutions have such provisions and may serve us as examples.

In short, the constitution is the great fundamental law of the country and must be endowed with greatest enduring stability. It can therefore regulate major questions more or less only by laying down principles. However, the constitution is also the legislative basis for ordinary laws and the rule to be strictly observed in all their actions by all state organs, political parties, social organizations and the entire body of citizens. This also demands that its textual provisions be explicit, specific and rigorous.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON PRACTICAL NATURE OF CONSTITUTION

HK081428 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061] in "Learn Something About Constitution" column: "The Practical Nature of a Constitution"]

[Text] The practical nature of a constitution means that the provisions of a constitution must precisely reflect a given social relationship, be able to meet the objective needs of society and must not be divorced from reality. This is the fundamental prerequisite for ensuring the supreme authority of a constitution. Lenin once figuratively divided constitutions into "statute constitutions" and "practical constitutions," emphasizing that the former must truthfully reflect the latter. In other words, a "statute constitution" must truthfully reflect a given social relationship and the practical requirements. He said: "When the law is divorced from reality, a constitution is spurious. When they are at one with each other, a constitution is not spurious."

In order to maintain the practical nature of a constitution, it is necessary to pay attention to the following points:

First, while maintaining relative stability of a constitution, it is also necessary to make corresponding changes in accordance with the development and changes in political, economic and cultural fields. Only in this way can we make sure that the contents of a constitution are not divorced from reality. One of the reasons why we must make an all-round revision of our present constitution is that marked changes have taken place in the political, economic and cultural fields.

Second, it is necessary to proceed from the level of political, economic and cultural development in a country at a given period. Things that cannot be accomplished for the time being should not be included in a constitution. For example, because China's economy is still relatively backward and cities are overpopulated, our present constitution does not include the provision that citizens have the freedom to migrate. This is completely correct.

Third, a constitution should make appropriate provisions regarding a series of important and practical social relationships, such as the relationship between the party and the government, the relationship between democracy and dictatorship, the relationship between the state, the collective and the individual, and the



relationship between rights and obligations, so that these practical social relationships can be in full coordination with each other. As Engels said: "In modern countries, the law must not only conform to the general economic situation. It must also be the manifestation of this general economic situation, something that will not let its internal contradictions upset its own internal harmony and consistency." For example, the Chinese constitution not only must uphold the leading position and core role of the party in the life of the country and society as a whole but must embody the division of work between the party and the government and fully give play to the role of organs of political power. Moreover, our constitution must fully establish the democratic rights and freedom of citizens and at the same time point out, in specific provisions, state that citizens' rights to democracy and freedom are guaranteed by law and must not be abused.

CSO: 4005/305

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING RIBAO' ON IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

HK081504 Beijing RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Li Deyun [2621 1795 6678]: "Why Is Ideological and Political Work 'The Lifeline?'" ]

[Text] Ideological and political work is the lifeline of economic and all other work. This is an idea with far-reaching and long-term significance which was advanced by Comrade Mao Zedong and is also a scientific summation of the experience of several decades of struggle by the CCP. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the recent 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee reaffirmed and reiterated this scientific thesis. This is of great significance in unifying the thinking of the whole party, correctly understanding the position and role of ideological and political work in the new period, seriously putting an end to the recent situation where there has been lax and weak leadership over ideological and political work in many places and promoting the four modernizations.

How then, should we correctly understand the scientific thesis that "ideological and political work is the lifeline of economic and all other work?" How should we correctly understand the relationship between doing a good job in promoting the four modernizations and strengthening ideological and political work?

Ideological and political work being "the lifeline" is a lively and vivid metaphor, which refers to the relationship between the ideological and political work and other work. This thesis tells us that to earnestly do economic and other work well, we must never deviate from strong and effective ideological and political work. If we deviate from it, we will be unable to carry out the economic construction and other work well and will be likely to get half the result with twice the effort or may even go astray. Comrade Stalin once said that the consolidation and maintenance of the economic victory itself depended on the victory in the party's organizational and political work and that "if we did not have this condition, economic victory would be something which was built on the sand." It is precisely in this sense, that the term "the lifeline" which we use to illustrate the relationship between ideological and political work and economic and other work and to show the position and role of ideological and political work is very appropriate. At a time when the whole party and the people all over the country are going all out to work for the four modernizations, it is totally justifiable to say that ideological and political work is "the lifeline" in our doing a good job of the four modernizations.

First, the role of "this lifeline" explains the fact that only when ideological and political work is strengthened, can the advance of the four modernizations in the correct direction and along the correct course be ensured. Some comrades argue that since the four modernizations is the major political matter at present, why should we still call ideological and political work "the lifeline?" This is the result of lumping together two different concepts of political line and ideological and political work and also of setting two identical things against each other. By taking the accomplishment of the four modernizations as the major political matter, we refer to its own nature and great political significance and to the fact that it represents the fundamental interests of the vast numbers of the people and is a matter of great significance in the future and destiny of the country. This does not contradict the formulation that ideological and political work is "the lifeline." This is because strengthening ideological and political work aims at ensuring the advance of the four modernizations in the correct direction and along the correct course. In carrying out modernization, there is a question as to what kind of modernization we should go in for and in which ways it should be realized. Ours is a socialist country under the leadership of the communist party. Instead of engaging in capitalist modernization, we engage in the socialist, and what is more, Chinese-style modernization. We must uphold the socialist system of public ownership, the principle of distribution "to each according to his work," the goal of ensuring the prosperity of the whole people gradually, oppose the capitalist private ownership system and the oppression and exploitation of a large number of people by a small number of people. This is a matter of fundamental importance in the direction and course. This direction and course have further been clearly charted by the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the principles and policies for marching ahead in this direction and along this course have also been successively stipulated and continuously perfected. However, bound by the old ideas and force of old habit and influenced by the feudal and capitalist ideas, particularly the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four, some people fail to understand and even doubt and oppose the line, principles and policies worked out since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee. This situation requires us to strengthen ideological and political work, mobilize and teach the vast numbers of cadres and masses and unify people's thinking on the basis of the party's line, principles and policies and take the broad road of socialism together. At the same time, we must realize that class ideology and capitalist liberalization are constantly obstructing the smooth accomplishment of the four modernizations. This also requires us to raise the consciousness of the vast numbers of masses to resist and remove the interference coming from the "left" and the right through strong and effective ideological and political work, conscientiously uphold the four basic principles and ensure the healthy development of the four modernizations in the correct direction and along the correct course.

Second, the role of "this lifeline" is also manifested in the fact that only when ideological and political work is strengthened, can we raise the political consciousness of the vast numbers of cadres and masses, correctly handle all kinds of contradictions among the people, fully arouse the enthusiasm of the cadres and masses for socialism and strive for the four modernizations with one heart and one mind. Some comrades think that now class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction and "political movements" are no longer launched, why on earth should we still lay stress on ideological and political work? To be sure, class



struggle at present no longer constitutes the principal contradiction but hosts of contradictions still exist among the people. Now we no longer engage in the "political movements" but by no means is ideological and political work equivalent to a "political movement." It was the grave sabotage of the content and form of the party's ideological and political work by Lin Biao and the gang of four that resulted in the confusion of ideological and political work and a "political movement" and their use of it to criticize and attack people. There are diverse contradictions among the people, such as the contradiction between the state, the collective and the individual, that between the leadership and the masses, that between different units and that between different individuals. Although these contradictions have the same fundamental interests, if we fail to handle them well, the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of the people for accomplishing the four modernizations will be dampened. To handle these contradictions, while stipulating strict rules and regulations, it is necessary to rely on patient and meticulous ideological and political work and on adopting the method of persuasion and education to arouse people's ideological consciousness and handle well the contradictions among themselves. At one time, after the criticism of political verbiage and the "theory of the spirit being omnipotent," there emerged the ideas of politics being useless and the "theory of money being all-powerful," which stressed only material interests and neglected ideological and political work. This resulted in a series of problems: In some units, the situation arose where people were calculating in production, worked according to the amount of payment and "sought money in everything." In some enterprises, the phenomenon occurred where, in management, people paid attention mainly to quantity at the expense of quality. Instead of raising efficiency, reducing costs and exerting enormous efforts to increase production and practice economy, they did shoddy work and used inferior materials, forced up commodity prices, tried to shortchange the consumers, and so on and so forth. All these phenomena show that if we fail to grasp ideological and political work and vigorously enhance the ideological consciousness of the cadres and masses, we will not be in a position to satisfactorily solve the contradictions among the people and genuinely inspire the socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and masses to make an all-out effort in working for the four modernizations.

Third, the role of "this lifeline" is also manifested by the fact that only when ideological and political work is strengthened, can the vast numbers of cadres and masses foster a scientific approach, truly modernizations. Some comrades hold that in working for the four modernizations, it is enough to act upon the economic laws and there is no need to make such great efforts in grasping ideological and political work. This is also a one-sided view. It is undoubtedly correct to adhere to a scientific attitude and act upon the objective economic laws in carrying out economic construction. It is not only economic work but also other work have its own objective law, and we should act in accordance with their respective laws in doing the above-mentioned work. However, this does not mean that we must weaken and even negate ideological and political work. This is because all kinds of work should be done by people and the discovery and mastery of any objective laws depend on people as well. The people's political consciousness and the level of understanding, their ways of thinking and subjective efforts play a great role and sometimes even a key role in discovering in good time, thoroughly understanding and correctly grasping the objective laws. Are there comrades who obstinately do not believe in the economic laws and instead give arbitrary orders based on their subjective wills, run amok and commit follies? Are there also comrades who wish to

act upon the economic laws but the result is different from what was intended when they started and sometimes even contrary to their wishes? All these facts show that it is not an easy job to really act upon the objective economic laws and that we must help people do away with the spiritual obstacles, raise their ideological understanding and correct their ways of thinking by doing a lot of ideological and political work. Only in this way, can we better use the objective economic laws in promoting the four modernizations.

Of course, while stressing the need to strengthen ideological and political work, we must place emphasis on the need to improve ideological and political work in the new situation so as to enable it to play a true and proper role in the four modernizations. This requires us not only to distinctly demarcate the so-called "putting politics in command" of Lin Biao and the gang of four and resolutely eliminate their pernicious influence, but also by promoting ideological and political work to develop the whole set of experiences and methods in ideological and political work which have taken shape over the past several decades. The [word illegible], the situation is developing, new conditions and new problems continuously are emerging, thus our ideological and political work must keep pace with the developing situation and continue to be strengthened and perfected. We must be clearly aware that the fundamental task of the current ideological and political work is to promote the four modernizations and that ideological and political work should center on the accomplishment of the four modernizations and should permeate throughout all economic and other work. We must seek truth from facts, put an end to the practice of "telling lies, boasting and indulging in empty talk," discard formalism, overcome the practice of mechanically applying others' experiences everywhere and conduct ideological and political work in an unmistakable, creative and lively way. We must uphold the principle of unity-criticism-unity, dare to boldly and forcefully conduct criticism and self-criticism, resolutely resist and criticize various erroneous tendencies which obstruct the socialist modernization program, proceed from the desire to achieve unity and be steadfast in the method of persuasion and education and convince people by force to argument. At the same time, it is necessary to integrate the conducting of ideological and political work with the solving of practical problems, to give every care to the difficulties of the masses, to be concerned about the weal and woe of the people, and imbue the masses with revolutionary principles on the one hand and bring the warmth of the party to the masses on the other hand. What needs to be especially stressed is that the comrades who do ideological and political work must lay emphasis not only on giving verbal instructions but more on teaching by example and using their exemplary deeds to influence the masses. Ideological and political work of this kind is convincing and will produce good effect.

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PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENCE THAT GUIDES MODERNIZATION PROGRAM EXPOUNDED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Wang Yicheng [3076 5030 6134]: "The Principle of Maintaining Independence and Keeping the Initiative in Our Own Hands Is An Important Guiding Ideology"]

[Text] The principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands is an essential aspect of the stand, viewpoint and method of Mao Zedong Thought. Like two other aspects of Mao Zedong Thought, notably the principle of seeking truth from facts and the mass line, this principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands which enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism was formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong during the protracted revolutionary struggle when he applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism in the entire process of our party's work. This is the basic aspect of Mao Zedong Thought which will remain to be an important guiding ideology for our socialist revolution and socialist construction today and in the days ahead.

Marxist dialectical materialism holds that social development and changes are mainly triggered by the development and transformation of internal contradictions in a society. Of course, the role of external causes in this connection cannot be excluded. But it must be understood that external causes are the condition of change while internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. If a country has no internal desires for social revolution and has no internal forces but has to rely solely on external forces to carry it out, the revolution will not occur, and even if it does occur, it will stand no chance of success. Marxist historical materialism holds that the masses of people are the makers of history. In accordance with this principle, those truly dedicated to the people's revolutionary cause must have high faith in the masses of people and fully rely on them to carry it out. The proletarian revolutionary cause is no exception. The proletarian revolution is an international crusade which undoubtedly needs the support of proletarian forces in other countries during the revolutionary struggle. But to carry this crusade to success first of all calls for relying on the masses of people in our own country to carry out the domestic revolution and construction. The principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands which is an essential part of Mao Zedong Thought is actually built on the basis of Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

But the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, an important content of Mao Zedong Thought, was not extracted in a summary fashion from dialectical materialism and historical materialism. It was obtained by the party and Comrade Mao Zedong through the protracted revolutionary struggle and through their scientific summation of both positive and negative experiences in integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. During the formative period of our party, it received valuable assistance in all forms from the Third International led by Lenin which proved essential to the founding of our party, the formation of the united front of cooperation between Kuomintang and the CCP, and the forward-looking development of the Chinese revolution. But a lack of a complete understanding of the Chinese conditions led the Communist International to come up with some erroneous instructions and resolutions on the problem of the Chinese revolution. During the 1920's and the 1930's, before coming to grips with the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, our party repeatedly made mistake of dogmatizing Marxism and treating the Communist International resolutions and Soviet experience as something sacrosanct. A case in point is the "theory of cities as the center." At that time, through the creative application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in the revolutionary practice, Comrade Mao Zedong came up with a revolutionary strategy to preserve and concentrate forces in the newly built revolutionary base areas in the countryside and to encircle the cities from the countryside. But this strategy was rejected by the representative of the Communist International. For this reason, the Party Central Committee had to transfer Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De out of the soviet area in accordance with the instruction from the Communist International. Affected by this infantile disorder which symbolizes our dependence on the Communist International and foreign experience, our party almost brought disaster to the Chinese revolution. In light of this erroneous tendency within the party, Comrade Mao Zedong profoundly pointed out: "Victory in China's revolutionary struggle will depend on the Chinese comrades' understanding of Chinese conditions." ("Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong" p 25) Subsequent facts proved that it was precisely the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands, upheld by the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, and their strategy to encircle the cities from the countryside that finally led the Chinese revolution to victory. This is why, in the course of formulating our own line, principles and policies, the Chinese communists are urged to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, and this is why they are advised not to depend on foreign countries. In this connection, Comrade Zhou Enlai also profoundly pointed out: "Although the Chinese Communist Party received a lot of guidance and help essential to its founding and development from the Communist International, its backer is not the Communist International but the Chinese people." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" vol 1, p 139) We members of the Chinese Communist Party had closely relied on the Chinese people or its "backers" to make the revolution advance step by step toward victory. True, final victory in the war against Japan was partly due to support from the Soviet Union and other countries. But fundamentally speaking, it was precisely the power of our party and the forces of the Chinese people it relied upon that enabled us to carry on the war against Japan for 8 years under the most difficult conditions and that led us to final victory. After victory in the war against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek relied on American aid to start a civil war. Our policy that finally led us to nationwide victory remained one of counting on our



own forces as a basis, maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and self-reliance.

During the period of socialist construction, Comrade Mao Zedong still emphasized the need to uphold the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and self-reliance as he did in the past. Of course, we must look for international assistance, seek all other possible foreign aid, and strive to study all useful foreign experiences including the advanced science, technology and methods of enterprise management of the capitalist countries. We also understand that all ideas and acts characterized by self-aggrandizement and blind xenophobia and tendencies to wall our country off to foreigners are wrong. But in the final analysis, our acceptance of foreign aid and our endeavor to study foreign experiences, and technology, and import some foreign capital and equipment are all for the purpose of increasing our strength so that we can stand on our own feet. We can in no way pin our hopes for help on foreign countries alone. Sole dependence on foreign aid is not only dangerous but also impossible. Complete dependence on foreign countries is particularly impossible in a vast country like ours where the population accounts for nearly one-fourth of the world population. Particularly at a time when imperialism and hegemonism still exist in the world, countries truly taking the socialist road now have no alternative left but to uphold the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in their own hands and self-reliance which will enable them to maintain national independence and security and which will insure success in socialist revolution and construction. It can be said that the principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands is an important guiding ideology as well as a basic principle governing socialist revolution and construction. We must carry on this guiding ideology and basic principle. Only in this way can we achieve success in developing the socialist modernization program.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### NPC DEPUTIES OF TAIWAN ORIGIN PLEDGE SUPPORT

OW081728 Beijing XINHUA in English 1601 GMT 8 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 8 December (XINHUA)--"We feel the warmth of the government for Taiwan compatriots when Premier Zhao Ziyang in his report reiterated the policy of striving for an early reunification of the motherland," said Jiang Shuisheng, who was born in Taiwan and is a chief engineer of a factory in Hubei Province and deputy to the National People's Congress.

Discussing Premier Zhao Ziyang's report over the past few days, deputies of the Taiwan Province delegation pledged further efforts for the reunification of the motherland and suggested ways of improving the work.

Chai Zimin, vice head of the delegation and cultural counsellor of the Chinese Embassy in Japan, said that Taiwan compatriots in Japan felt proud when the Chinese women's volleyball team won the World Cup Championship. "We should get in touch with Taiwan compatriots abroad and tell them what was going on on the mainland," he said.

Li Chen, deputy president of Jinan University in Guangdong Province, urged the government to train more children of Taiwan compatriots. He suggested that the preparatory class of Taiwan students in the overseas Chinese university in Fujian Province be expanded so that the sons and daughters of Taiwan compatriots in other provinces may enter.

Tian Fuda, deputy of Taiwan's Gaoshan Nationality and vice-chairman of the headquarters of the Taiwan democratic self-government league, said that it was the common desire of all Taiwan compatriots to build a powerful unified motherland. He said that the contacts between the people in Taiwan and on the mainland had increased since the appeal to Taiwan compatriots was issued. He expressed the hope that people of all quarters should intensify their efforts for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MONGGOL NPC DEPUTIES HAIL BEIJING SUPPORT

OW041717 Beijing XINHUA in English 1607 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 4 December (XINHUA)--Deputies from Inner-Mongolia to the current National People's Congress say that the Central Government has given tremendous support to Inner-Mongolia for economic construction.

In the N.P.C. discussions, Ting Mao (Mongolian), chairman of the Standing Committee of the Inner-Mongolian Autonomous Regional People's Congress, said Premier Zhao Ziyang had shown great respect to the autonomy of minority nationalities by saying that minority nationalities regions should proceed from their own conditions in economic development.

Inner-Mongolia developed a diversified economy with animal husbandry and forestry as main undertakings, he said. This was based on 30 years of experience and tallied with the economic circumstances in Inner-Mongolia, which had well over 860 million hectares of grasslands and 13 million hectares of forests, but only 5.3 million hectares of farmland.

Peng Mengyu, vice-governor of the autonomous region, said price raises for agricultural and animal products had since 1979 added several hundred million yuan to the annual income of the peasants and herdsmen in the region.

Besides, the herdsmen have been exempted from livestock-breeding tax for 3 years since 1980, so have the peasants from agricultural tax in poor production teams. This means that the herdsmen and peasants in the whole region will have an additional income of 50 million yuan.

Deputies from Inner-Mongolia pointed out that after 2 years' readjustment, economic construction in Inner-Mongolia had achieved a steady growth. This year's grain output came close to the peak year. Marked increases have been scored in the production of cash crops and household sidelines in the past 3 years. The total number of sheep and cattle has reached 40 million. Light industrial production rose around 10 percent this year over last. Heavy industry has been readjusted to produce for light industries and exports. Total output value of industry and agriculture in the autonomous region this year is expected to increase by around 4 percent.

Peng Mengyu said the state had helped Inner-Mongolia reach agreements with Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin cities, and Hebei, Jiangsu and five other provinces on developing forestry, dairy farming, sugar refining, candy making, and light and textile industries. These ten provinces and municipalities will provide technology and equipment for the autonomous region, which will repay them with the products.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### CRITICISMS, SUGGESTIONS OFFERED IN NPC MEETINGS

OWO61318 Beijing XINHUA in English 1255 GMT 6 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 6 December (XINHUA)--Criticisms and suggestions were made by many N.P.C. deputies for improving college education, enhancing scientific research and transforming the economic structure during panel discussions in the past few days.

Su Buqing, a member of the N.P.C. standing committee and president of Fudan University, called for the readjustment of the specialities in universities and colleges. He suggested that the present period of college schooling should be reduced to four or two years to train professionals for different purposes and that outstanding graduates may be selected for advanced studies.

He said that the students of economics in his university now didn't study China's specific conditions or the new trends in the capitalist countries, that those of biology engaged only in the research of basic theory to the neglect of application in agricultural production, and that some teachers' colleges or schools paid little attention to pedagogy and primary and secondary education. "It is impossible and unnecessary to do theoretical research for the sake of research in colleges," he added.

Sun Daguang, minister of geology, criticised the divorce of scientific research and higher education from production. He said that China had many research institutions, but their scattered strength and repeated work on research projects had resulted in a lot of waste.

Efforts should be made to combine scientific research with higher education and emphasis should be placed on the development of applied science, the minister demanded.

His view was shared by Zhang Wenyu, director of the High Energy Physics Institute under the Chinese Academy of Sciences. "Around 90 percent of the college students in the country," Zhang said "now study basic theories, but it is divorced from practice. On the one hand there is a shortage of scientists and technicians in factories, but on the other there are too many research people in some research institutes staying idle. If these people are organized and their research work is linked with college education and factory production, both moderation and scientific research will be promoted."

Rong Yiren, vice-chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee, said that he agreed to the premier's view on improving economic performance as the key problem in economic construction. He said that this would hinge on the reform of economic structure and reorganization of the government departments. "Without the reorganization of the government departments, it is impossible to reform the economic structure. Some issues which can be solved with one word now drag on for months, and this situation must be changed," he said.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### FURTHER CRITICISM, SUGGESTIONS FROM NPC DEPUTIES

OWO62034 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1545 GMT 6 Dec 81

[XINHUA headline: "'Criticism and Suggestions'--Opinions of NPC Deputies and CPPCC Members"]

[Text] Beijing, 6 Dec (XINHUA)--Market Regulation Can Only be Supplementary--Gong Xiangcai, NPC Deputy and Deputy Director of Shaoxing Iron and Steel Works, Zhejiang Province

In the structural reform of our national economy, we must adhere to the orientation of relying mainly on socialist planned economy. Market regulation should be used, but it can only be supplementary.

Now, in some departments and places, there is a tendency to overemphasize market regulation, and negative phenomena detrimental to the socialist economy have appeared. Take the iron and steel industry as an example. In the present period of readjustment, some of the iron and steel products are to be sold as commodities in the market. Departments concerned, however, have given up control even of products, whose production and marketing could have been organized in a planned way. Many enterprises are competing against each other by improper means. Some resort to control by advantages in resources and blocking the passage of technical information; some factories have doubled the number of salesmen and dispatched them to make sales everywhere; some are eagerly holding goods ordering meetings, which are extravagant and wasteful affairs including dinner parties and gifts, to win buyers and expand sales of their products. It is not enough in dealing with these problems just to criticize some cases. Solutions should be found basically from correct handling of the relationship between the planned economy and market regulation.

In regulation through the market, it is necessary to emphasize the seriousness of contracts. The state should quickly enact economic laws and regulations concerning contracts to make both contracting parties obligated to fulfill a contract and prevent unilateral tearing up of contracts.

Speed Up Development of the Food Industry--Qin Hanzhang, NPC Deputy and Director of the Ministry of Light Industry's Food and Fermentation Industry Research Institute

Our country has abundant natural resources, a large population and extensive markets. There is a great potential for developing the food industry. Since the founding of

new China, rather great achievements have been made in the food industry. The total output value of the country's food industry in 1980 was 7.8 times that in 1952, ranking fourth among the industrial branches after machine-building, textile and chemical.

The food and fermentation industries require little investment, produce quick results, do not consume much energy, can promote agricultural, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline and fisher production, increase state accumulation, offer job opportunities, meet the requirements of the people's livelihood and the development of tourism and therefore have broad prospects for development.

For a long time, our country has lacked a unified plan for developing the food industry. Management is scattered, and investment is insufficient. As a result, the industry is characterized by backward production technique, weak technical manpower and relatively crude packing and packaging. It is hoped that people's governments at various levels will give effective support to the food industry in needed capital, raw materials, other materials, production equipment, technical personnel and so forth to help it grow in the direction of more varieties, high quality and modernization.

Reform of Medical Education Is Suggested--Zhu Xianyi, NPC Deputy and President of Tianjin Medical College

The system of medical education should be reformed. I suggest that the training of doctors should be carried out at three levels. First level, the existing 1.5 to 1.8 million barefoot doctors throughout the country should be trained by rotation. The training period can be 3 months or, better, 6 months. This task should be undertaken by county or area hospitals. There are more than 2,000 county hospitals in the country, and the rotational training can be completed in 3 to 5 years. Thus the problem of general medical care in rural areas can be solved. Second level, doctors for county hospitals should be trained by provincial, municipal, autonomous regional or prefectural hospitals. This should be a 3-year course, enrolling senior middle school graduates. Upon graduation they will become practitioners with secondary medical school education [yi shi 6829 1102]. In this way, trainees will be enrolled, trained and employed locally, and they will feel at ease. Third level, doctors for prefectural hospitals and large and medium-sized city hospitals should be trained by higher medical education institutions established after 1958. These schools offer a 5-year course, and upon graduation students should be guaranteed to have a considerably high standard of medical proficiency. The more than 40 medical colleges and universities established before 1958 should mainly be training doctors, teachers and medical researchers of a still higher professional quality. These medical colleges and universities should strengthen their basic medical course laboratory equipment and should select the best local hospitals for clinical teaching. The length of schooling can be extended to 6 or 8 years as suitable.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'XINHUA' REPORTS NPC PANEL DISCUSSIONS

OW051001 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1757 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 4 Dec (XINHUA)--In holding panel discussions over past days to examine the report on the work of the government, the NPC deputies attending the fourth session of the Fifth NPC highly praised the current economic situation in China. In close connection with the actual conditions in various localities, the 3,000 deputies talked most enthusiastically and lavishly praised the following three great achievements in China's economic sphere in 1981:

--Our state has witnessed the second year of high yields, since the liberation, in a year of serious disaster.

--With a deficit as high as 10 billion yuan 2 years running, it has achieved, within a single year, a basic balance of financial credit revenue and expenditure.

--With the state facing natural disasters and financial difficulties, there is an obvious improvement in the people's living conditions.

Dwelling upon these achievements, a deputy from Tianjin excitedly said: As the representative of the people, I should thank, on behalf of the people, the party Central Committee for its leadership and the government for its strenuous efforts.

Many deputies said: Since Comrade Zhao Ziyang assumed the premiership over a year ago, China has scored such tremendous achievements in developing its national economy. It is really not a easy matter.

Many deputies used pleasant phrases to warmly praise the profound changes in various localities brought about by the policy of the party Central Committee and the State Council.

A deputy from Anhui said: In a number of localities in northern Anhui, always stricken by natural disasters, previously people could not live without the sweet potato as their staple food. Now there are 500 jin of wheat and 300 jin of rice for everyone, while sweet potato has become fodder.

A deputy of Pumi nationality from the mountainous areas in Ningland Yi nationality autonomous county, Yunnan, said: When the gang of four held sway, our feet were bound, our land was idle, and we were hungry. Now we have instituted the production responsibility system. We only need to work for 1 year to provide ourselves with enough food to eat for 3 years.



A deputy from Shaanxi said: More than 11.8 million people in 68 counties throughout the province suffered from natural disasters and 1.56 million houses collapsed this year. However, under the solicitude of the party Central Committee and the State Council, the local party, government and army organs joined the people in combating natural disaster and doing relief work and in organizing production. As a result, this year's total output in agriculture is 3 percent higher than last year.

Whether from the south, the north, the central plains or the border regions, many deputies unanimously said: Zhou Ziyang had pointed out in his report that "the entire countryside is full of vitality" and that agricultural development is just unfolding." These words are really true and inspiring. A new production upsurge is taking shape. The total amount of investment made by the masses in Henan in agricultural production this year have more than doubled compared with the past. With happy feelings, the deputies praised the government for being able to reduce such a large financial deficit within such a short time, for realizing a basic balance in financial and credit revenue and expenditure and for achieving a basic stability in commodity prices. Some of the deputies called this a "miracle."

In examining this issue, Yang Jianbai, a deputy from Tianjin, said: We still have financial deficits. There are also financial deficits in foreign countries. However, the nature of these deficits is entirely different. A number of capitalist countries have financial deficits, because they carry out arms expansion and make war preparations, increase administrative expenditure, bringing catastrophe to the working people and letting a few make money. China has financial deficits, mainly because its investments in capital construction exceed the strength of the state, and the government has allocated some extra funds to improve the people's living conditions. After discovering the potential problems, the party Central Committee and the State Council have adopted effective measures and fundamentally solved the problem within a year. He said aloud: I am extremely satisfied with this matter, very pleased and excited. We have solved such a major problem within a year. If we still fail to realize the greatness of the party and the superiority of socialism, we are really "looking but seeing not and listening but hearing not."

A deputy from Guangdong said: The reasons for the drop in deficits within a year are as follows:

1. A correct principle has been implemented. The eight-character principle is correct.
2. Production is actually rising. There are abundant supplies, and the market is lively.
3. All the people in the country, from the higher level to the lower, work with one heart and one mind, and exert strenuous efforts.

When the central authorities have financial difficulties and ask for loans from the localities, they get loans with no problem at all. When the state has deficits, the people vie with one another to put money into savings, increasing urban and rural savings by nearly 10 billion yuan. All this reflects the full confidence of the people in the government. This also shows that our government has the ways and means to do a good job in developing the national economy.

In his report, Zhao Ziyang said: While there are continuous improvements in the people's living conditions, particularly while there were fairly large increases in the income of the 800 million peasants during the last 2 years, this year has once again witnessed an obvious improvement. When the deputies discussed this part of the report, many faces lit with pleasure and showed smiles. Naturally there are many happy event in a peasant's life in richly endowed areas. Even from fairly economically backward areas the deputies have brought good news with them.

Interesting news came from faraway Guizhou Province. In the past, a butcher's shop was unable to sell all the pork from the four hogs it butchered every day. It was really worried. This year, although it was stricken with a major natural disaster, it now butchers 10 to 20 hogs a day, it has not enough pork to meet the needs of the consumers.

Jia Youling, a deputy who came from the Nei Monggol pasture, told of a recent event in the Asihatu production brigade which has only over 400 inhabitants. Since the implementation of the production responsibility system in animal husbandry in the brigade, the brigade's public accumulation has been increased by 200,000 yuan this year. Herdsmen in the brigade not only have radio sets and sewing machines, they now have taperecorders. The deputies said: There have been changes in the life of the people in urban areas. Some deputies said: If we walk in the street and carefully look around we will discover that people dress differently compared with several years ago.

A number of deputies engaged in economic work also used statistics on the sales of television sets, taperecorders, washing machines, refrigerators, cameras and other items to show the improvement in the people's living standards. They said: When we talked about these things in the past, we always felt that these things were too far off. Now we have bought these things one after another.

After dwelling upon the favorable situation in the whole country, Liu Shuhe, a NPC deputy and professor of the Hubei Financial Institute said with great elation: When I solicited workers' opinion before coming here to attend the session, all workers and staff members believed that the party Central Committee and the State Council had done a great deal of work and paid attention to all matters in a down-to-earth manner since the convocation of the third plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. They asked me to relay their thanks to the leading comrades of the central authorities. They hoped that the central authorities would lead us to continuously forge ahead and vitalize the nation.

CSO: 4005/305

## PARTY AND STATE

### NPC DEPUTY ON FAMILY PLANNING IN RURAL AREAS

OW050931 Beijing XINHUA in English 0820 GMT 5 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 5 December (XINHUA)--N.P.C. Deputy Liu Yunbo, a noted gynaecologist and paediatrician, expressed her concern over the recent rise in birth rate in some rural areas during N.P.C. panel discussions.

She attributed the recent rise to the following two reasons: one, peasants want to have sons so that they will have a strong labour power in the family as the new system of production responsibility has been practiced in rural areas in the past 2 years ensuring more income to the peasants; the other, they worry that they might be hard off when they get old and the daughters are married away and there are no sons in the family.

Liu Yunbo said that she was in favor of the proposal raised by Feng Deming, another N.P.C. deputy from Sichuan, on setting up a system of labor insurance in rural areas step by step. This system, she said, requires that the peasants pay a certain amount of money to the insurance fund annually. During their old age the insurance fund will provide for their living without the state having to spend additional money. In this way the increase of population can be controlled.

The 76-year-old specialist is in charge of family planning in Sichuan Province, a province with a population of 100 million. She said she fully supported the population policy of limiting the quantity and raising the quality set forth by Premier Zhao Ziyang in his government work report.

Reviewing the work in birth control in Sichuan Province, this woman doctor of medicine who studied at a German medical college in the 1930's, said that the net population growth rate for the province dropped from 3.1 percent in 1970 to 0.45 percent in 1980, meaning that 10.78 million less people were born in that decade.

The province had taken note of the new trend of rural population growth, and was adopting measures to cope with the problem, she said.

She listed the province's favorable conditions for improving birth control work:

--A network of organs staffed with suitable persons has been set up in the whole province to guide the work in family planning from provincial down to the rural commune levels;



--Birth control is becoming more and more accepted among the people. Some 1.93 million couples at the child-bearing age have decided to have only one child each, and more than 10 million men have had tubal ligation operations; and

--Advances have been made in scientific research and technique in this field. Contraceptives, contraception instruments as well as birth control medical workers are now available both in urban and rural areas throughout the province.

CSO: 4000/32

PARTY AND STATE

MINORITY NPC DEPUTIES VIEW ZHAO ZIYANG REPORT

OW061212 Beijing XINHUA in English 1200 GMT 6 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 6 December (XINHUA)--Nurhan, a 36-year-old peasant woman of the Uygur nationality from South Xinjiang, Northwest China, has brought apples and raisins as a present to the current National People's Congress.

She told XINHUA that the peasants of her production brigade could not produce enough to feed themselves 2 years ago.

"Now we have food enough and to spare," she said. "We sold our surplus grain to the state this year. We owe our success to the new system of responsibility in production mentioned by the premier in his report to the people's congress."

Discussing Premier Zhao Ziyang's report, Tomur Dawamat (Uygur), chairman of the N.P.C. standing committee of the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region, said that new policies made by the central government had met the needs of peasants and herdsmen in Xinjiang.

Ismail Amat (Uygur), chairman of the regional people's government, said that as a result of carrying out a flexible policy in farming and pastoral areas, Xinjiang had reaped good harvests in the past three years. Xinjiang's grain output this year is estimated at 3.76 million tons. Cotton output reached 103,000 tons and oil-bearing crops 186,750 tons; both are record figures. The number of livestock came close to 33 million head by last June, 1.8 million head more than in the same 1980 period.

He said Xinjiang's total value of industrial production was expected to reach 3,600 million yuan this year, a 3.18 percent over last year.

"The average peasant or herdsman earns an income of 113 yuan from collective farming this year against 107 yuan last year," he said, "in addition to an income from private plots."

CSO: 4000/32

## PARTY AND STATE

### XIZANG NPC DEPUTIES TELL OF IMPROVED LIFE

OW051239 Beijing XINHUA in English 1207 GMT 5 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 5 December (XINHUA)--Deputies from Xizang now attending the National People's Congress have told stories of the improved life of the Tibetan people in the past two years.

The improvement, they said, came as a result of the implementation of the new policies for Xizang which were adopted when Chairman Hu Yaobang and Vice-premier Wan Li visited the autonomous region in May last year.

Discussing Zhao Ziyang's report to the congress at panel meetings, they said that they supported the premier's statement that the various autonomous regions were allowed to adopt concrete policies that suited their respective economic conditions.

Dianba Gyaincain, 51-year-old mayor of Lhasa, said the 350,000 people in its urban district and 11 rural counties had all benefited from the remission of taxes on agriculture and stockraising for 5 years and the development of diversified economy.

Lhasa produced 93,000 tons of grains last year, 1,050 tons above the record 1978 figure, the mayor said. Despite the adverse effects of a hail storm and the change in crop pattern from wheat to highland barley, a cereal all Tibetans like, this year's harvest is expected to approach the 1980 level.

"The herdsmen now have plenty of butter and meat for their own consumption. This is because the number of livestock assigned to them for private use has been raised under the new policies to 480,000 head, 26 percent of the total."

The policy of remission of taxes on collective enterprises and individual craftsmen and peddlers has reinvigorated Lhasa's traditional crafts such as tailoring, wool knitting, silver jewellery and copper smithery, Dianba Gyaincain added. Shops and stores have sprung up around the famous Qoikang Temple. The traditional bazaar in the center of the city is busy with some 1,000 peddlers everyday selling goods from radio-recorders to carpets, and from hats, boots to butter, meat and vegetables.

Sengqen Losang Gyaincain, 47, vice-chairman of the regional committee of the C.P.P.C.C., cited an example to show why the new policies conform to local con-

ditions in Xizang. He said that people in Zhanang County in Shannan prefecture are traditional craftsmen making pulu (a woolen fabric) but they were not allowed to make it during the cultural revolution under the wrong slogan that sideline occupation was capitalistic. As they could not farm or raise stock for the shortage of water, the government had to give them 2,000 tons of relief grain every year until 1980. With the restoration of PWU production the Zhanang people are now living a better life. The supply of relief grain was cut down by 90 percent last year.

Buitag, a 46-year-old herdsman from Bagen County, said that despite heavy snowstorms from last December to May this year and the death of some livestock in three of the seven districts as a result, the herdsmen have increased the livestock in his county by a 3 percent to 450,000 head this year.

The per-capita income of the 29,000 people averages 150 yuan. Quite a number of herdsmen who used to live on relief before now have bought radios, wristwatches or built new houses.

CSO: 4000/32

## PARTY AND STATE

### PERSONALITY CULT DENOUNCED, COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP EMPHASIZED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Shi Qun [0670 5028]: "Forbid Any Form of Personality Cult"]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" points out: "We must uphold the Marxist viewpoint that the party's collective leadership should be exercised by leaders of competence and political integrity who have come to the fore through massive struggles; we must forbid any form of personality cult." This guideline of the "Resolution" which calls for forbidding any form of personality cult will certainly have a significant and far-reaching impact on our party and therefore, should be conscientiously studied, appreciated and implemented by us.

The practice of personality cult in any form has been consistently opposed by Marxists. As early as January 1844, English historian Thomas Carlyle was criticized by Engels in his article "On the Situation in England" for "hero worship" or "worshipping genius." (See "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1, p 647) In a letter to William Bruce, dated 10 November 1877, Marx said that because he detested all personality cults, as long as the International exists, he would not permit anyone to publish the many tiresome eulogies heaped on him from other countries, that he did not even answer these letters, and when he did, it was only to rebuke them. Both he and Engels also set the rejection of personality cults as a condition for joining the communist alliance. (See "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 34, p 289) Lenin also resolutely rejected personality cults. Once when he criticized the activities of glorifying his personality, he warned the entire party against any revival of the heroic view of history with which we have effected a complete break.

Originally, our party took a stand in opposition to the practice of personality cults. At the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Party Central Committee held on the eve of the nationwide victory of the people's revolution, in response to Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal, the party Central Committee ruled that in the days ahead, no birthday parties be given for the leaders of the party, no place or street or enterprise be named after them. This ruling had a positive effect of preventing the growth of personality cults. In April 1956, an article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" written by the RENMIN RIBAO editorial department on the basis of the guidelines of an enlarged session of the Politburo of the party Central Committee on the problem of Stalin pointed out: The roles of the masses and collectives were often ignored by those

who paid attention only to the role of a particular individual. For this reason, whether or not we reject the practice of personality cults is a problem that deserves our constant attention. In September 1956, in his "Report on the Revision of the Constitution of the Party" to the "Eighth Party Congress," Comrade Deng Xiaoping further pointed out: Our party considered the deification of any particular individual distasteful. This was why our comrades throughout the party were required to implement continuously and resolutely the party Central Committee's policy of opposing the practice of giving prominence to any particular individual or eulogizing him in order that ties between the masses and their leaders could be truly strengthened and the party's democratic principle and mass line could be thoroughly implemented by all concerned.

Unfortunately, the party's policy of opposing the practice of giving prominence to or eulogizing a particular individual was not determinedly implemented. We became more and more reluctant to talk about the subject of "opposing the practice of personality cults," fearing that it might get mixed up with the mistaken campaign being mounted by the Khrushchev clique in the Soviet Union to defame Stalin under the pretext of opposing the practice of personality cults. Some people even rejected the idea of "opposing the practice of personality cults" as a revisionist fallacy. Some comrades later maintained that the practice of personality cults was absolutely necessary and should be allowed to continue forever. This contention came after RENMIN RIBAO on 27 December 1956 published an article, "Further Talk About the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and used the term "blind faith in a particular individual" instead of "personality cult" and after the term "personality cult" which had appeared in Marx's letter to William Bruce was retranslated to become "blind faith in a particular individual." Afterwards, the personality cult growth and development within our party was seized by careerist and conspirator Lin Biao as an opportunity to serve his own purpose. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao conspired with Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and company to move toward glorification of our leader to an absurd extent, thus creating an extremely serious consequence.

True, Marxism which recognizes the masses of people as the makers of history never denies the significant role played by outstanding figures in history. But Marxism also holds that in the final analysis, whether an individual can have his way depends on the social conditions of his time, and only when an outstanding figure can adapt his ideals and aspirations to the demands for social development and the desires of the advanced class of his time is he able to bring his role in history into full play. Otherwise, he can achieve nothing. In view of this, the leader of a proletarian political party should not place himself above the masses or the party and should make himself accessible to the masses and the party. The demonstration of love by the people for the leader of a proletarian political party is essentially an expression of their love for the interests of their party, class and themselves. They do not intend to deify him.

The personality cult practice, however, tends to worship a leader as a perfect man and then to glorify him as a god. Instead of regarding their leader as someone born of struggle and closely associated with the masses, those who believe in a personality cult often tend to turn the relationship of equality between the masses and their leader into a relationship between higher and lower levels and between a noble and commoners, thus jeopardizing the party's principle of democratic centralism. It is true that the growth of his personality cult should be

blamed for mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years. The proposal contained in the "Resolution" to forbid any form of personality cult is precisely a result of the full-dress summation of our historical experience. We must firmly remember such historical experience and resolutely oppose any form of personality cult. Our determination to do so will certainly have a significant and far-reaching impact on our efforts to encourage the masses to take the initiative and demonstrate their enthusiasm and to uphold the party's principle of democratic centralism.

9574

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## PARTY AND STATE

HAINAN: COUNTY CADRE SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT

HK301343 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 25 Nov 81

[Report: "Hainan Intermediate People's Court Sentences Former Vice Chairman of Dingan County Planning Committee to 4 Years' Imprisonment"]

[Text] On the morning of 24 November, the Hainan Intermediate People's Court held a rally in Haikou Municipality to sentence Feng Chaomeng to 4 years' imprisonment for accepting bribes, practicing fraud, speculation and profiteering.

Feng Chaomeng was former vice chairman of the Dingan County Planning Committee and concurrently director of the county's bureau of supplies. During his tenure of office, he took advantage of his position and power, accepted bribes and gifts and practiced fraud, speculation and profiteering. From March 1978 to the end of 1980, Feng Chaomeng was in charge of the county's cement, reinforcement rods and chemical fertilizer. He extorted a total of 2,000 yuan in bribes from construction contract teams, organizations, schools and rural production teams. He swindled a sum equivalent to 5 tons of cement from the Hushan construction team of Wenchang County. In 1979, assisted by his son in Hong Kong, Feng Chaomeng carried out smuggling activities, speculation and profiteering. He illegally sold radio-recorders and electronic calculators at high prices and obtained an exorbitant profit of 1,820 yuan.

Facts and evidence of Feng Chaomeng's crimes were undeniable. He had violated the criminal law and committed the crimes of accepting bribes, practicing fraud, speculation and profiteering. On 6 January 1981, the Dingan County People's Procuratorate took legal proceedings at the county people's court. On 16 April, the Dingan County People's Court opened a session to try Feng Chaomeng's case but ruled that he had not committed any crime. Thus, he was acquitted.

The Dingan County People's Procuratorate filed an appeal to a higher court, according to law. The case was again tried by the Hainan Intermediate People's Court. It ruled that Feng Chaomeng had taken advantage of his office, accepted bribes and gifts, practiced fraud, speculation and profiteering and committed crimes and that the Dingan County People's Procuratorate was correct in its appeal. The former verdict was overturned and Feng Chaomeng was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment. The radio, recorders, recording tapes, electronic calculators and watches in custody were confiscated according to law. They were sent to the state treasury.

The masses and cadres acclaimed the solemn and just verdict passed by the Hainan Intermediate People's Court.

CS0: 4005/305



MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RENMIN RIBAO' PRAISES ARMY HERO GUO TIANMIN

HK031026 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Nov 81 p 5

[Article by Song Renqiong [1345 0117 4522], Xiao Ke [5135 0344] and Li Da [2621 6671]: "Comrade Guo Tianmin--a War Commander Who Did Not Claim Credit for His Achievements"]

[Text]

I

Comrade Guo Tianmin passed away in Guangzhou on 26 May 1970. He was a loyal fighter of our party who underwent many trials for a long period, a fine member of the Chinese Communist Party and a fine commander of our army.

He was born in Hongan, Hubei Province. He joined peasant movement in his native place as a youth. He entered the sixth class of the Whampao Military Academy in 1926; in March of the same year he joined the Chinese Communist Party and in the same year he joined the Guangzhou uprising that shocked China and the world. In the spring of 1929, he went to the Soviet area in southern Jiangxi Province where he joined the 4th Red Army. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Zhu De, he successively held the positions of subregimental leader and regimental leader of the Fourth Red Army of the Central Soviet area, instructor of a regiment of the 12th Red Army, deputy leader of the 3d Red Army, divisional commander of the 21st Army, chief of staff of the Jiangxi Military District, chief of staff of the 9th Red Army Corps, educational leader and director of the first bureau of the Fourth Red Army, chief of staff of the 30th Army, director of the first bureau of the military commission of the party Central Committee, deputy chief of staff of the military areas of Shanxi, Qahar and Hebei, commander of the 2d column, commander of the military area of Hebei and Qahar, commander and political commissar of the 2d Column, deputy chief of staff of the field army of Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong and Henan, deputy commander of the military districts of Hubei and Henan and deputy commander of the 4th Corps of the 2d Field Army. Following nationwide liberation, he served as deputy commander of Yunnan Military District, director of the second department of the military academy, deputy director of the general training supervisory department and director of the military publications department, the army training department and the military academies department.

The life of Comrade Guo Tianmin was one of revolution and struggle. In the Central Soviet area, he took part in all the struggles against the enemy's "encirclements." During the long march, he assisted Comrade Luo Binghui and others in commanding the

9th Red Army Corps and the 5th Red Army Corps in their duty to defend the rear of the Red Army during the long march and he completed with flying colors the task of defending the Red Army in its march north. When he was the chief of staff of the 30th Army and under the leadership of Comrade Li Xiannien and others, he made important contributions by leading the remnants of the West Route Army to leave Chilianshan Mountain and return to the side of the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. During the war against Japan, he fought side by side with comrades Zhao Erlu and Liu Daosheng for 7 years in Shanxi, Qahar and Hebei provinces and made great contributions in consolidating and developing the second subarea of Shanxi, Qahar and Hebei provinces and in establishing the base area against Japanese aggression in Shanxi and Qahar. During the war of liberation, he worked under very difficult conditions with comrades Wang Shusheng and Duan Junyi to improve the situation of the limited base areas of Hubei and Henan provinces; later he assisted Comrade Chen Keng in leading the army south and took part in commanding the battle to cross the Chiangjiang River, the battles at the "Two Yangs" in Guangdong Province, the battle in southern Guangxi Province and the battle in southern Yunnan Province and great victories were achieved in these battles, during which more than 150,000 enemy soldiers were eliminated. Following the liberation of the whole country, he studied and worked tirelessly and made new contributions in building border areas, defending the country and regularizing and modernizing the army.

Comrade Guo Tianmin set very strict demands on himself. Comrade Zhu De spoke highly of him when he said that Comrade Guo Tianmin "is a man who does not claim credit for his achievements." We must always learn from his lofty moral character.

## II

During the protracted armed struggles, Comrade Guo Tianmin conscientiously studied and used in practice Mao Zedong Thought on military affairs and the principles for military operations. He fought many battles stubbornly and courageously and faced death unflinchingly to achieve brilliant victories.

Once during the long march, the 9th Corps were camping in Miaoyang town of Zhijin Prefecture in Guizhou Province. Because the men were too tired, they relaxed their vigilance. At 4 a.m. they were attacked by the enemy based in Yunnan Province. The enemy occupied a favorable and commanding position and blocked the streets leading into the town as well as avenues for retreat with a barrage of fire. Under such circumstances, Comrade Guo Tianmin remained calm and organized his men to counterattack. At the same time, he also sent his men to protect the leaders of the corps, comrades Luo Binghui and He Changgong, by taking them along the precipitous Jifei cliffs and retreating to safety. He personally led his men in fighting the enemy and led his men to another place after they repulsed the attack of the enemy.

In the fall of 1946, the military district of Shanxi, Qahar and Hebei launched a battle of defense spearheaded at Huailai, so as to smash the attack on the liberated areas by Kuomintang reactionaries. Comrade Guo Tianmin led the 2d Column of the army and they were responsible for forward defense. On the day when the enemy, who was fully armed with American weapons, waged the most fierce attack on all fronts, the fortifications were almost leveled off. Under the command of Comrade Guo Tianmin, the four regiments of the army were able to repulse the attack

of two enemy corps in a battle which lasted for 11 days and nights. In this way they guaranteed the victory of the main forces that were attacking the enemies from the flank. They were commended by the leadership of the military district and the military commission of the party Central Committee.

Comrade Guo Tianmin was flexible and decisive in directing battles. After the Japanese aggressors surrendered in August 1945, the Soviet and Mongolian army marched south along the north Zhangjiakou road and the city of Zhangjiakou, a strategic place in north China, was under the encirclement and control of our liberated areas. But the Kuomintang Army that occupied the great bend of the Huanghe River were able at any time to march north to capture the city of Zhangjiakou because they were in a position to control and use the Beijing-Suiyan railway. Following an order from the party Central Committee, Comrade Guo Tianmin led the northern front forces of Shanxi and Qahar to march a long way day and night and subsequently they liberated Zhangjiakou on 22 August before the Kuomintang Army arrived at the city. They seized enormous amounts of strategic materials that were stored in Zhangjiakou during the period of Japanese aggression. While Guo Tianmin was leading the southern front forces to the north, they were informed that Beijing had been occupied by Chiang Kai-shek. They Kuomintang Army took advantage of the limited number of our forces in the northern front who had not yet been able to strengthen their position, and marched toward Zhangjiakou. Comrade Guo Tianmin followed the plan of the party Central Committee and the military commission and at once turned his forces to the north and smashed the attempt by the Kuomintang to seize Zhangjiakou. Nie Rongzhen, Cheng Zihua, Luo Juiqing and other leading comrades praised Comrade Guo Tianmin and said: "The party Central Committee is very pleased with you in liberating Zhangjiakou, defending and protecting the city, goods and materials and in smashing the enemy's plot to seize the city."

Comrade Guo Tianmin paid great attention to the work that would guarantee victory in a battle and he considered such work an important condition for winning the battle. In July 1934, the 9th Corps were ordered to protect the 7th Red Army Corps led by Comrade Fang Zhiming in their march north to fight the Japanese aggressors. On their return, the corps opened up the arsenal of warlord Lu Zinggang in Fujian Province and seized 4,000 cases of gunpowder and 30,000 jun of edible salt. Comrade Guo Tianmin thought that, as the Soviet areas seriously lacked such goods, it was a matter of importance to consolidate the base areas by transporting these goods to these areas. Therefore, together with other leading comrades from the corps, they went deep among the masses to mobilize them. Consequently, under a very complicated enemy situation and with no transportation facilities, together with the masses, they overcame various difficulties and carried the goods for 20 days until they reached the Soviet areas. These goods were of great support in the struggle against the "encirclements."

In 1949, the 4th Corps opened up a new battle ground in the south. But they lacked backing and with frequent movement it was very difficult for transportation corps to carry out their task of supporting the 4th Corps. As time was pressing, Comrade Guo Tianmin wasted no efforts in organizing logistics departments to make full use of the cities that had been liberated and of various transportation facilities to prepare support goods and carry out other work. He also personally directed the units of the engineering corps to repair bridges and roads and launched a campaign to ensure the health of both fighters and horses. He also put forth various

requirements to ensure the health of the animals. All these helped the army to march victoriously. When the army reached Yunnan Province, Comrade Guo Tianmin led the army in building barracks so as to solve the problems of accommodation for patrolling units and for those staying long periods helping build border areas and solving the new problem of national defense.

### III

Comrade Guo Tianmin always paid attention to the education and training of the army. He made positive contributions to the building of the army and was commended on many occasions by veteran commanders in chief Liu Bocheng and Chen Yi.

He often said: "There are no born generals in an army, nor are there born fighters. An army must be trained so that it will have fighting capability." In the early days, after the founding of the Red Army, he was active in establishing teaching teams in the 4th and the 12th red armies in order to strengthen military and political education for cadres and fighters. He was one of the capable military instructors in the Red Army College of the 4th Army under the leadership of Comrade Liu Bocheng. No matter how fierce the battles and how difficult the situations during the war against Japan, he would make use of breaks in the fighting to work out plans for training according to actual combat conditions so as to be able to carry out education by combining military theory with military experiences gained in battles and step up training. In 1955, he was transferred to the general training department where he implemented the training principle formulated by the military commission of the party Central Committee. He used the training program for the whole army that was worked out with the help of specialists and implemented the principle in accordance with the specific conditions of our army and the situations of the various army units. In studying the training concerned with coping in a battle under "atomic conditions," he followed the instructions of Comrade Ye Jianying and organized military exercises in coastal defense and night fighting in Qingdao and Xinyi. When our army had gained certain experiences in this aspect, he probed into the questions of how to solve the problems of combat coordinating between various army units under modern conditions.

Comrade Guo Tianmin was very enthusiastic in running schools. In 1958, he was appointed director of the academic department of the general training department. He visited academies and schools to carry out investigations among teachers and students. He relied on teachers to do a good job of educational reform. He demanded that the leading members of academies and schools take part in teaching and he himself undertook academic study and carried out the work of improving the standard of teachers. He implemented the rules and regulations that were proven efficient by many years of teaching and such measures helped stabilize the order in education.

He was very strict in educating and training the army. In the early days after the founding of the 9th Army Corps, he found that the men of this corps had complicated historical backgrounds and had low political and military levels and were accustomed to a guerrilla life style. Under the leadership of the corps' party committee, he took measures to reform and train this army during breaks in the fighting. Due to his efforts, the combat capability of this army was soon improved.



Later, this army often carried out actions in the center of the areas that were occupied by the enemy. The fighters of this corps were capable of fighting battles on various scales; they were courageous and flexible in fighting, and consequently they rendered meritorious service in battle on several occasions. Comrade Zhou Enlai praised this army as a "strategic cavalry." When this army arrived in Tianquan in Sichuan Province during the long march, they were welcomed by Comrade Zhou Enlai who went there especially for this occasion.

Comrade Guo Tianmin held that no matter how clever a commander was, he had to rely on fighters in battle; consequently, he considered it an important part of education and training to cherish fighters and he would not tolerate any contemptible or harsh actions toward fighters. When he visited a company, he would look round the kitchen and enquire into the situation of the life of fighters. During the war, when fighters were on the move or camping, he would ask about even such trifles as whether fighters had washed their feet, whether they had grass mattresses for sleeping on and how the sick were treated. When he found that some fighters had not had their hair cut in due time or had not buttoned their uniforms, he would ask the company leaders and instructors why they had not taken note of this.

#### IV

Comrade Guo Tianmin was open-hearted and above board and in the struggles of principles he upheld truth with a clear-cut stand.

About the end of 1930, the antirevolutionary movement in the Jiangxi Soviet area intensified and many good comrades were struck with blows. Comrade Guo Tianmin had his own opinions about this erroneous practice and he expressed his view to Comrade Chen Yi. At the same time, he said to other leading comrades: Is it possible that there can be two opposing forces within each regiment and company? We cannot operate like this and we cannot doubt people at will. In 1933 and 1934, the party Central Committee was under the control of the dogmatism practiced by Wang Ming and at the same time, the struggle was launched in the Jiangxi Soviet area to oppose the line of Luo Ming. But, in some units, the spearhead was directed against some correct views advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Guo Tianmin, who was then chief of staff of the Jiangxi Military District, defied relentless attack and stood up to express his views. He said that the consolidation and development of the Jiangxi Soviet area and the victories achieved by the Red Army in the struggle against "encirclement" proved that the views of Comrade Mao Zedong were correct and pointed out that it was wrong to oppose what was correct. His deeds demonstrated the dauntless spirit of a communist. But, because of this, he was labeled as the advocate of Luo Ming's line in the Jiangxi Military District, dismissed from office and transferred to the Red Army College to study. He was ordered to expose others and make a self-criticism. But he believed that he was correct and he wrote not a single word.

In June 1935, the 4th Army and the 1st Red Army victoriously joined forces at Mougong, Sichuan Province. According to the resolution passed by the party Central Committee at a meeting at Maoergai, the 9th Red Army Corps which Comrade Guo Tianmin was in was ordered to join the 2d Column of VJ Route Army to march north with the 4th Army as the main force. But Zhang Guotao regarded the 4th Army as his personal armed forces and he brazenly ordered the army retreat south to Sichuan and Xikang

where he set up an unauthorized dummy party Central Committee. Comrade Guo Tianmin resolutely opposed this action. He was then dismissed from his position as chief of staff of the 9th Red Army Corps by Zhang Guotao and was transferred to the 4th Red Army as director of education. Yet he was dauntless and said that this was not just a matter of an individual. In spite of strict control and threats by Zhang Guotao, he tried every means to acquaint himself with the situation of the 1st Red Army which was marching north under the leadership of Chairman Mao. He talked on the situation of the Red Army, pointed out that it was the only [several lines illegible] with the deeds of Comrade Guo Tianmin and consequently he ordered the execution of Comrade Guo Tianmin. It was lucky that Comrade Zhu De came to interfere and Comrade Guo Tianmin was saved.

Comrade Guo Tianmin was broadminded. When he was framed during the struggle and was punished wrongly, he did not complain but continued to work for the party. Under the influence of leftist mistakes, the PLA launched a campaign to oppose dogmatism in 1958. When he realized that the campaign was directed against regularization and modernization of the army and the spearhead was directed against some leading comrades who were responsible for education and training, he was laden with anxiety and he did not sleep or eat well. During the campaign, some people wanted to expose some teachers, but Comrade Guo Tianmin stuck to principles and sought truth from facts. Consequently, he was labeled as an advocate of the "bourgeois military line" and as a "dogmeist," framed as a member of an "antiparty factional clique" and ordered to make a self-criticism. He was also criticized on many occasion. Yet he continued to work tirelessly and he never wavered in his confidence in the party Central Committee, Chairman Mao and the military commission of the party Central Committee. But because of such serious blows, the health of Comrade Guo Tianmin, who was ill due to too much hard work during the war years, began to deteriorate. He suffered from skin cancer and myocardial infraction in the same year and after that he could no longer work regularly for many years. Even then, he was not spared by Lin Biao and the gang of four during the Great Cultural Revolution. In September 1969, the bedridden Comrade Guo Tianmin was ordered to leave Beijing within a specified time. His conditions worsened and in less than 6 months, he passed away in Guangzhou, without being cleared of the false charges.

## V

During the decades of revolutionary struggles, Comrade Guo Tianmin always considered the whole situation, set strict demands on himself and was broadminded toward others. He worked hard and selflessly in the public interest and lived a simple life.

In 1945, the Shanxi-Qahar Army liberated Zhangjiakou and seized an enormous amount of strategic goods from the Japanese forces. The fighters demanded the use of these goods as quickly as possible to improve their equipment which was so backward. But Comrade Guo Tianmin considered the whole situation first; he considered the situation of his army but stressed the needs of other fraternal units and consequently he suggested distributing the goods to other units first and then to his own army. Apart from carrying out the order from the party Central Committee to transfer the goods as required, he always tried his best to meet the demands of fraternal units. He also ordered that each of the cadres sent by the party Central Committee to work in northeast China, and who passed through Zhangjiakou, be given a fur coat, a sweat shirt, a leather cap and a pair of boots. This move not only lightened the financial burden of the party Central Committee but also helped the cadres to reach their destination more quickly.



Comrade Guo Tianmin was open-hearted and broadminded toward others. He never spoke ill of others; nor did he attempt to frame others. He dared to use the cadres who were capable and of good moral character. Once during the war against Japan when a meeting was being held to discuss whether a comrade was suitable to become leader of a main regiment, it was proposed to oppose the appointment of this comrade because he was transferred from the 4th Army. Comrade Guo Tianmin said: "Because Zhang Guotao committed mistakes, it does not mean that all the men in the 4th Army also made mistakes. The key question is whether this comrade is capable." Practice proved that this comrade was capable. Later he died courageously in battle.

Comrade Guo Tianmin was always strict with himself. He worked neither for fame nor for gain and he did not care about comfort. He never concealed his faults nor glossed over wrongs and once he discovered his mistakes he would resolutely correct them. When he was working in Yunnan, some comrades of the same organization were dissatisfied with his temper. After he became aware of this opinion, he made a self-criticism in a mass meeting and asked others to help him supervise and correct his temper. When he went to visit army units, he refused special treatment. He said: No matter how high our ranks, we are just ordinary revolutionary fighters and there should be no privileges for us. He forbade his family to seek private gain by making use of his position.

Eleven years have elapsed since Comrade Guo Tianmin passed away. But his achievements in battle and his lofty moral character will always remain in our hearts to encourage us to unite for still greater victories.

CSO: 4005/306

LU XUN'S IDEAS ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION REVIEWED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Chen Mingshu [7115 7686 2885] entitled 'Lu Xun's Valuable Opinions on the Establishment of a Spiritual Civilization']

[Text] The great proletarian thinker Lu Xun [7627 6598] always stressed the importance of establishing a spiritual civilization. His rejection of the medical profession in favor of a literary career and his lifelong and tireless research into the nature of the nation and the people bespeak eloquently of his dedication to the establishment of a spiritual civilization.

The attachment of importance to spiritual civilization is a special trait shared by recent Chinese thinkers of the enlightenment school of thought. When our motherland was besieged with peril from all sides at the close of the Ching Dynasty, Yan Fu [0917 1788] said that "The salvaging of the present dire situation rests with the people's minds and the people's customs." He cited the preeminence of the people's morals ("Originally Strong"). Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389] offered the opinion that "So long as we have a new people, we do not have to worry about not having a new system. If we do not have an improved government, there can be no improved nation" ("On Improving People"). Later, Sun Yat-sen said, "A nation is made up of people and people are the instruments of their hearts...For this reason, whether the politics of a nation is lofty or corrupt hinges on whether the people's hearts are awakened or whether they are in a feeble state" ("Theories of Sun Yat-sen"). The power of the spirit emphasized by all three must, of course, be matched by material power. What can be said with certainty is that they all laid strong emphasis on and had a high estimate of the flexibility of the people.

It was in 1907 when Lu Xun said, "For a nation to become strong and prosperous, it is first necessary to establish its people. When the people are established, everything else will fall into place." It was his opinion that it is only when the people of a nation have found themselves and when their personalities are developed that "an expanse of sand" can be made into a "people's nation," and that "it is only when a people's nation is established that it can exert itself and occupy its rightful place in the world" ("On Cultural Extremism"). Lu Xun's ideal of a "people's nation" makes a clean break with the bonds of feudalism. The enhancement of one's self-awareness sets the pace for the development of a spiritual civilization of a high order. Naturally, a spiritual civilization must be founded on a material civilization. "It is not possible to achieve national peace and serenity and ease and happiness of

life by resorting to brain-power alone" ("Chapter on the History of Science"). However, "it is definitely not sufficient to depend on gold and iron to bring prosperity to a nation" ("On Cultural Extremism"). That has been proven by history. Among his novels and miscellaneous essays, Lu Xun devoted a large portion of space to the subject of the establishment of a Chinese people's spiritual civilization. His well-known "Diary of a Lunatic" depicts the finely-tempered "eastern civilization" as being destructive of the soul of men shaped by feudalistic consciousness. The novel expressed the hope that "real human beings" would emerge untinted by the desire to devour their fellow-men. His "True Story of Ah Q" is a tragedy about a poor farmhand who, despite the fact that his body was wracked and his spirit destroyed, remained self-satisfied even though he had been subjected to all kinds of indignities. Satirically and in a heart-rending way, Lu Xun commented that "that perhaps serves to prove that the Chinese spiritual civilization is superior to any other in the world." It is very obvious that unless this type of "spiritual civilization" is done away with, it would not be possible to establish a true spiritual civilization. His "A Small Matter" is a revelation of the entirely new spiritual civilization in which a ricksha boy at the time found himself. Many of Lu Xun's miscellaneous essays have as their theme the social ills at the time. Through description of various social phenomena to which he took exception, he also revealed between the lines a blue-print for the establishment of his conception of a spiritual civilization. He sang the praises of Liu Hexhen [0491 0735 3791] for his composure, his gentleness and his courage. He extolled Yang Roushi [2254 2677 4258] "who would reconcile himself to whatever is of profit to other people and at his own expense whether from the old or new moral point of view." He lauded Wei Suyuan [7278 4790 0954] who was quite contented to be a piece of wood or a stone or "a handful of dirt in the garden," contending that "people with that type of spirit are what China needs most." Through these people, he revealed the noble reaches of a new type of spiritual civilization. Naturally, Lu Xun at the time also used his pen to attack certain phenomena inimical to the establishment of a spiritual civilization characterized by public-mindedness. For example, he castigated those people who fought to be first when entering a car, going through a door, buying a ticket and mailing a letter and who also fought to be first when going out a door, getting off a car, escaping from a disaster and seeking refuge. According to his understanding, that was due to the fact that, laboring under the harassment and grievances generated by the "pressures of life" in the old society, they were not able, in their state of confusion, to identify their real enemies and, taking their own people and the men in the street as obstructions in their path, had to resort to pushing and shoving." However, "such behavior not only served the purpose of self-preservation, but also as a means to vent one's resentment of other people. Since these people have achieved an exalted status, they would expect the street to be cleared when they venture forth" ("Afterthoughts on Pushing"). It may therefore be seen that it is no easy matter to promote spiritual civilization and that private conduct can never be separated from public morals. To promote the establishment of a spiritual civilization, he wrote seven pieces of literary work of an admonishing nature aimed at members of the intelligentsia on the need to cultivate a higher moral standard. Greatly concerned about home education, he also wrote such pieces as "Three Ways of the World," "The Secret of Writing in the Old Chinese Literary Style and of Becoming a Good Man" as well as "The Children of Shanghai" and "The Young Girls of Shanghai" which were critical of the common social practices of the time. Thus, from a certain point of view, "The Complete Works of Lu Xun" may be said to be a text-book for the establishment of a spiritual civilization in that it served to tear down the old, point the way to the new, admonish what is evil and stimulate response from the public.

The biggest difference between Lu Xun and modern Chinese thinkers of the capitalist enlightenment school of thought lies in the fact that he was resolutely opposed to the so-called "eastern civilization," that is, the feudalistic form of consciousness as well as "western civilization," that is, the capitalistic form of consciousness. That was Lu Xun's stance as a thinker of the proletarian enlightenment school of thought. From the establishment of the "Chinese Republic" to the low ebb of the May Fourth Movement, thinkers repeatedly set in motion a reverse current which was opposed to the revival of old traditions so that those forward-looking advocates of a "spiritual civilization" achronistically turned back the clock and became, objectively speaking, defenders of the feudalistic system of government. Since political power was still vested in the feudalistic warlords at the time, Lu Xun was moved to draw the conclusion that "the existing Chinese spiritual civilization has not, in actual fact, been buried by the word "republic" ("Causerie Under the Lamp"). Thus, Lu Xun's lament on the fact that what China lacked most was "civilization criticism" and "social criticism" ("Liang Di Shu") indicates the direction at which his barb was aimed.

Lu Xun was of the opinion that it would be impossible to establish a new form of spiritual civilization unless the "existing Chinese spiritual civilization" and the western capitalist civilization were demolished. Otherwise, the hopes for national revival "would be dashed to pieces by the pens of large numbers of self-styled supporters of ancient civilization and drowned in the flood of words from the mouths of false accusers of the new civilization and struck down by the words and actions of many who pose as advocates of the new civilization" ("It Came to Mind All of a Sudden"). On the subject of capitalist civilization, Lu Xun had, in his youth, occasion to make the observation that "people are attracted only to the objective materialistic world, completely ignoring the subjective aspect of the spirit," so that the multitude of people are blinded by material desires" and "acts of deceit and disdain begin to grow like weeds ("On Cultural Extremism"). However, Lu Xun was definitely not opposed to the progress of civilization in the world. On the contrary, he believed that "the development of the spirit of the people has a great deal to do with a wide knowledge of the world ("Moluoshi Lishuo") and that, in the process of absorbing foreign civilizations, it was utterly essential to exercise good selective judgment.

Why, in advocating for a new form of spiritual civilization, did Lu Xun so strenuously oppose "the existing Chinese spiritual civilization?" That was because the apex of "spiritual civilization" culminates in the worship of holy warriors. By holy warriors is meant "prestige, children and wealth" which represent "the highest ideal" of "men great and small" ("Shengwu"). Even such a poverty-stricken person as Ah Q, who made so bold as to indulge in revolutionary fantasies in his dream in the temple of the God of Earth, could not help but get entangled in such a spiritual web. This entrapment by "holy warriors" has revealed itself in a new form with the covert development of "capitalism." According to Lu Xun, most honest people, in a society characterized by "scratching and shoving," "still cannot make their upward climb. The smart people, who know how to push, push other people aside and push them down, step on them, tread on their shoulders and heads to negotiate their upward climb." If the opportunity to climb did not exist, they would then put their trust in luck, "thus scratching to knock somebody down, and, if they should fail in doing that, they would climb again..., dedicating themselves body and soul to the endeavor until their last breath" ("Climbing and Knocking"). Such a society deludes and confuses people, cramming filthy things into their souls, crowding out their heart's desire to pursue



to pursue what is beautiful and good, sapping their will power, choking and killing their noble ideals, and pushing spiritual civilization to the brink of disintegration and suffocation. For this reason, in order to establish a true spiritual civilization, there is no alternative but to sweep away all the debris and to open up a new vista.

To find out what caused the degeneration and downfall of spiritual civilization, it is necessary to seek the cause from the politics and economics of a bygone era. Lu Xun hit the nail on the head when he said that over a long period of time, China had been placed under an autocratic form of government which freely meted out death as a means of keeping the people under its control over a long period of time, which, through taxation, sucked dry the marrow of the people, and which put a ban on criticism, leaving the people in an emaciated state so that "the people's voice can hardly be heard and their spirits become dark and gloomy" ("Remarks on the Birth of Yue Duo [6390 6995]) and the spiritual world was almost turned into a wilderness. Added to that was the invasion by alien races which served to promote the habit of servility among some people. Furthermore, the simple agricultural economy limited the people's vision, causing their outlook to become short and shallow and narrow and conservative. All these factors dealt a fatal blow to the development of a modern spiritual civilization. After comparing the characters of the Chinese and the Japanese, Lu Xun pointed out that "It is true that the character of the Japanese is of a high caliber. However, their greatest gift from heaven is that they have not been invaded in agriculture, so that we were subjected to repeated incursions by wandering herdsmen of an alien race and that our history is marked by bloodshed." However, the fact that the Chinese people "have survived to this day attests to their greatness" ("Collection of Lu Xun's Letters" Vol 2, p 1064). Since Lu Xun was looking at the matter from the point of view of the establishment of a spiritual civilization, he naturally tended to see more weaknesses in the national character than other people and therefore to be more critical. However, to use his own words, it was his hope that the great Chinese people would see a period of "revival" and "reform."

Echoing Lenin's point of view, Lu Xun listed such cultural aspects as the reform of the "customs" and "habits" as vital factors determining the success or failure of the revolution. Actually, what he said at the time is equally relevant to what we now call the establishment of a spiritual civilization. "Unless reform is brought about in those areas," he said, "the revolution, like a tower built on sand, will soon be toppled and brought to nought." "Unless we go deeply into the masses," he continued, "make a study and analysis of their customs and habits, set up a standard as to what to keep and what to reject, and carefully draw up a plan of action, any kind of reform will be shattered by the boulders of habit and will be of an ephemeral character" ("Habits and Reforms"). Customs and habits, of course, are not the sum total of spiritual civilization. However, they are not only a gauge of a people's moral standard, but also of their cultural and scientific standing.

Since "a civilization is a reflection of a people's intellectual and moral standard," a spiritual civilization must be established along intellectual and moral lines. Intellectually, we must raise the people's ability to delve into theories in the realm of thought, in science and technology and in culture and the arts. The intellectual capacity of a people is a determining factor in the status of a nation. Marxism represents the supreme crystallization of the wisdom of humankind. Thus, Lu Xun stressed the fact time and again that, in seeking a solution to all human problems, there is no recourse but to achieve a firm grasp of the source of social

science propounded by Marx. Lu Xun was most conscious of the role played by science and technology in the process of establishing a spiritual civilization because science is capable of "enhancing human happiness" and "like a mighty wave," is capable of "reviving the spirit and renewing the mental outlook of the people" ("Chapter on the History of Science"). Lu Xun took special note of the role played by art and letters in the establishment of a spiritual civilization because progress and revolutionary art and letters serve to sweep away "all falsehoods and undesirable habits" and enable people "to consciously and courageously dedicate themselves to making rapid progress." toward "a good, beautiful and healthy state" ("Moluoshi Lishuo"). Lu Xun also expressed the hope that science and literature would go hand in hand in elevating the people's intellect. He expressed the opinion that literature serves to enhance mental agility and exquisite sentiments, to enrich spiritual life, and that literature and science can be made to complement each other. Thus, he felt that mankind needs not only such scientists as Newton, Kant and Darwin, but also such men of letters and art as Shakespeare, Raphael and Beethoven. It is only thus that "the human potential can be fully developed, that the various endeavors can be given equal emphasis and that today's civilization can be maintained" ("Chapter on the History of Science"). Although the division of labor cannot as yet be done away with in any phase of development in society, undue emphasis should not be placed, from the establishment of a spiritual civilization point of view, on theories, science, literature or physical culture. That is the objective demand we make of the people responsible for the overall development of socialism in this era.

Another vital ingredient for the establishment of a spiritual civilization is moral cultivation. Lu Xun was of the view that unless given a moral impetus, intellectual activities cannot lead to great achievements. He took issue with the view that "intellectual pursuits should be separated from moral considerations." "This is a mistaken view," he said, "and it is particularly regrettable to say that this separation serves as a spur that generates power and as a basis for the acquisition of knowledge" ("Chapter on the History of Science"). From the standpoint of moral cultivation and the establishment of a spiritual civilization, Lu Xun held the view that what was needed, first of all, was progressive thinking and a high standard of morals, and that a high standard of morals is a requisite in all our endeavors. He said that, although some people were in the habit of carping on morals as "empty talk with no substance," he would continue to speak out in the hope that adherence to a code of morals would produce the desired results ("Chapter on the History of Science"). Secondly, he believed that the establishment of a spiritual civilization requires white-hot patriotic sentiments. Lu Xun was a great patriot, but he was never a patriot in the narrow sense of the word. He felt a deep sympathy for the down-trodden people of small and weak nations throughout the world. Thirdly, he was an advocate of a code of morals for the good of the public. He was ever opposed to the moral principle of benefitting oneself at the expense of others. He described that type of people as "those who spew forth all kinds of theories and reasons to whitewash their wrong-doings, whose only concern is their own convenience and comfort and who, like termites, devour everything in their path, leaving behind a trail of excrement." Heaving a heavy sigh, he said that "The proliferation of such characters will make a mess of society" ("Collection of Lu Xun's Letters," Vol 2, p 802) because they create a superficial style in society and cause the degeneration of spiritual style in society and cause the degeneration of spiritual civilization. Lu Xun pointed out that a person should "at all times think of other people and do what is for their benefit" ("Collection of Lu Xun's Letters," Vol 2, p 923). A man of incorruptible principles all his life, Lu Xun is truly a worthy model for us to emulate. With humility, he summed up his experiences as a man as follows: "I can honestly say that



in the past several decades, aside from seeking my own survival, I have often thought of China and the future, and it has been my hope to do for other people what little I can" ("Collection of Lu Xun's Letters," Vol 1, p 551). What candor in mental outlook and what lofty sentiments! In establishing a spiritual civilization, we would do well to emulate Lu Xun. Fourthly, we must oppose the "lack of a sense of righteousness," by which is meant "sitting on the fence," and "shrewdly 'bending with the wind,'" long the "expedient thing to do in China" ("Let Me Talk Frankly about 'Staying in the Middle'"). In whatever we do, "it is best not to ask what is right and wrong and what is proper and improper," he said sardonically, "but to do what other people do. Better still, it is best not to open one's mouth. What is even better than the best is to avoid betraying one's feelings on one's face" and to master "the secret of how to conduct oneself in life" ("keys to the Ways of the World"). Confronted by an "upheaval or turmoil," characters of this type would "fold their tents and make their escape," "do what is expedient at the opportune moment," and grasp the opportunity to advance themselves. It was Lu Xun's belief that the "lack of character" is not only damaging to oneself, but that China can hold its own only if the people are guided by principles and "do not bend with the wind" ("Po Esheng Lun"). Braving the winds and the waves in his forward progress, Lu Xun, in his search for the truth in the realm of thought, finally drew the conclusion that it is communism that represents the truth. Fifthly, he believed that upholding the truth and adopting a proper attitude toward our work and our lives should serve as guideposts for establishing a spiritual civilization of a high order. However, "playing a joke," "looking for a good time," and "taking things lightly" had at one time been the "keys that opened many strange locks in China" ("Looking for a Good Time"). Lu Xun was critical of those who confined themselves to indulging in empty talk and high-sounding statements," equating the "making of high-sounding statements with bureaucracy" ("Collection of Lu Xun's Letters," Vol 2, p 679). In discussing the social practices of the time, Lu Xun had occasion to remark that "the 400 million Chinese people are afflicted with one disease, the same of which is sloppiness. Unless a cure is found for this disease, China cannot be saved. They should learn to take things seriously. There is no other cure" ("Recollection of Mr Lu Xun" by Nei Shanwan [0355 1472 1346]). Although the situation has undergone some change, Lu Xun's admonition remains valid today. Sixthly, Lu Xun was dedicated to the promotion of lofty ideals. He remarked on many occasions that "Hope is inseparable from life. Where there is life, there is hope and there is a future" ("Record of Talks"). He firmly believed that "only the newly-established proletariat has a future" ("Preface to Two Hearts Collection"). The 10-year struggle waged by Lu Xun in his later years in Shanghai coincided with the 10-year period of heroic struggle sustained by the communist ideology from which he derived a most felicitous state of mind.

It was Lu Xun's hope that the young people would create a "third historically unprecedented era" free from the tragic traits characterized by "the compulsive desire to become slaves" and "reconciliation to the security of being slaves." Under the leadership of the party, Lu Xun's hopes have now been fulfilled. This "third era" is, in fact, no other than the era of socialist materialistic civilization and spiritual civilization. The valuable opinions of Lu Xun on the establishment of a spiritual civilization have now been given expression by the characteristics of such an era. What he advocated was a new form of spiritual civilization completely divorced from the bygone era and completely in tune with socialist culture. That is why it is doubly endearing to read his works today. Remembrance of Lu Xun and the observance of his posthumous pronouncements are certain to have a beneficial effect in promoting the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization and in accomplishing the mighty task of the four modernizations by the Chinese people.

'BA YI RADIO' RAPS DENG ZIAOPING'S YOUTH POLICY

OW051355 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] During his inspection tour of Xinjiang, Comrade Deng Xiaoping listened to a briefing by Comrade Gu Jingsheng on the situation of educated youth coming from other parts of China to settle in Xinjiang. Gu told Deng about their discontent with their work and their dissatisfaction with the present situation. After listening to the briefing, Deng did not propose any specific measures for solving these youths' problems. On the contrary, he said: "Let us consider the majority of youth brought up during the cultural revolution a failure. From now on, we should proceed to train a new generation."

As the actual party and state leader, Comrade Deng Xiaoping certainly should not bear an old grudge and be so biased against the youth of the cultural revolution period. In fact, what happened to those youths deserves our sympathy the most. How could he be so irresponsible and so indifferent to their (?political life)?

At present, the broad masses of youth throughout the country are in a fit of depression, which leads to some violent behavior. In order to find out the reason, we should take a look at the policies concerning educated youth implemented since the downfall of the gang of four. It is not objective nor reasonable to always blame youth. The blame does not help resolve the present serious youth problem at all. Moreover, we should understand that the youth problem, being the most serious social problem at present, is directly related to indifference to the solution of the youth problem shown by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who took charge of the work of the central organ after the downfall of the gang of four. Although, he said that from now on we should proceed to train a new generation, in fact, the situation of the great majority of youth today has not improved, and in certain respects, it is even worse than in the gang of four period.

At present, there are more than 200 million graduates of junior middle schools and above. Of these, some 50 million are in urban areas while some 150 million are in the countryside. In the cities, only about 4 percent of the senior middle school graduates are admitted to colleges and about 50 percent of the junior middle school graduates can advance to senior middle schools each year. In fact, even fewer educated youth can get jobs in urban areas. Those young people have thus become an unemployed, surplus labor force in society, known as the so-called "youth in society." Those 150 million youth in the countryside cannot develop their talents to the full either, as the effective utility rate of educated youth in the countryside is only around 9 percent. The words and deeds of educated youth show that

they are at a loss about the future, becoming more and more depressed and creating a daily worsening crisis of belief, trust and confidence.

Our country has paid a great price in training hundreds of millions of educated youths. To ignore their destiny and ruin their future is to ruin the future of our country and nation and is detrimental to the restoration of [word indistinct] of the country. We hope that the comrades who suffered attacks and persecutions during the cultural revolution, particularly Comrade Deng Xiaoping, should no longer proceed from personal feelings to persist in their prejudice against the youth. They should value the interests of the country and the people above everything else, treat the youth problem as the most important contemporary issue and solve it.

CSO: 4005/307

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### EDUCATORS SUPPORT ZHAO ON STUDENT WORKLOAD

OW041725 Beijing XINHUA in English 1636 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 4 December (XINHUA)--A number of noted Chinese educators today voiced strong support for Premier Zhao Ziyang's warning against a one-sided tendency to overtax the ability of students so as to push them into higher schools.

They are members of the China association for promoting democracy attending the current session of the national committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference.

The association, one of the eight democratic parties in China, is made up mainly of primary and middle school teachers and other intellectuals.

At a panel discussion on Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report, they lashed out at that tendency and suggested ways of improving the quality of teaching in middle and primary schools.

The 87-year-old educator Ye Shengtao, advisor to the ministry of education, appealed in a recent article in the PEOPLE'S DAILY against overloading students with homework for ensuring a larger enrollment rate in higher schools. Premier Zhao Ziyang, in his report to the national people's congress, praised the article as having expressed the concern of the students, their parents and society at large.

At today's discussion, Ye Shengtao said that the undue emphasis on enrollment rate reflected a feudal idea that ranked the learned above all others and it would hurt youngsters physically and mentally. He urged all educators to work against the erroneous tendency and ensure an all-round development of the youngsters.

Wu Yifang, vice-governor of Jiangsu Province and former president of the Ginling Women's College in Nanjing, said that the best way to correct this tendency was to create more job opportunities for young people. She said that running more vocational schools as suggested by the premier was a good idea. Such schools could train young people for various trades so that they would not have to enter college to get jobs, she added.

Si Xia, a N.P.C. deputy and one of China's best primary school teachers, also spoke in favor of reducing students' workload. She said that a new teaching sys-

tem was being tried out in her school, which excluded any assignment of homework for first-form pupils and reduced the time for each class from 45 to 35 minutes. This system, she added, had been well received by both the pupils and their parents.

The panel meeting adopted a written proposal calling for attention to protecting the students' physical and mental health and improving their study, as stressed by Premier Zhao in his report, instead of pursuing enrollment rate one-sidedly.

CSO: 4000/33

RECTIFICATION OF EVIL PRACTICES IN LITERARY PUBLICATIONS URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by Xhong Chuping [6945 4342 1627]: "Correct Unhealthy Tendencies Existing in Literary Publications"]

[Text] A very close relationship exists between writers on the one hand and editors, magazine publications and publishers on the other. Known as engineers of men's souls, writers should devote their labors to the production of delectable food for the soul while editors, magazine publications and publishers should select literary works that are politically correct and artistically superior for publication after having processed and polished them. It is their common aim to promote Marxism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong, to disseminate scientific, cultural and technical knowledge and achievements, to enrich the people's spiritual and cultural life, to help raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire Chinese people, and to implement the four modernizations. Since they are all engaged in the common struggle to achieve the revolutionary goal, it stands to reason that their relationship should be a most healthy one. However, there has appeared in recent years an unhealthy trend that deserves our attention. First, some magazine publications and publishers, in scrambling for the literary works of "celebrity" writers, resort to devious means to give certain writers preferential treatment in disregard of principles. Some writers also take advantage of their special status in demanding to be put up in high-class hotels during their travels and to be given sleeping berths with soft mattresses on trains, and some even bring along their wives and husbands and insist that all the expenses should be defrayed by the magazine publications or publishers. Secondly, some magazine publications and publishers are in the habit of accepting contributions from "name writers" without considering their quality, having them published in a prominent place and paying name writers higher than normal rates. After having achieved "fame," some writers, holding their responsibility in light esteem and no longer dedicated to their creative work, tend to meet their commitments by churning out literary products of questionable quality. Some editors, interested only in "name" writers, display a less than serious and responsible attitude toward "unknown" writers. Thirdly, some editors, taking advantage of their position, resort to "exchange literature" practices, making the other party's acceptance of their products as a pre-condition for publishing the other party's literary works, and giving the greenlight to the manuscripts of "related clients," "taking care" of each other and indulging in flattery on a reciprocal basis.



Although the unhealthy tendency existing in the field of literary publications has often been criticized in the press, it has yet to be completely rectified. Some comrades even in use as a pretext the argument that, in view of the large volume of manuscripts submitted for publication and the large number of publications, it is impossible to boost circulation and thus to stay solvent unless a scramble is made for the "masterpieces" of name writers. Some comrades even grossly overstate the case by saying that outstanding writers are priceless treasures of the party, the nation and the people and that their works are in great demand by the reading public. However, since "name writers" were themselves "nameless" at one time, the attention lavished on "name writers" and the neglect of "nameless writers" would create a situation where there will be no successors to name writers. Furthermore, no "name writer" is capable of producing nothing but great works and masterpieces. The practice of not judging a piece of work on its own merits and on indulging in flattery indiscriminately is liable to lead to "killing by flattery." Putting it in another way, even if every word in a piece of literary work by a well-known writer is of inestimable value, is it justifiable, for the sake of a few manuscripts, to turn the relationship between socialist publishing organizations and socialist writers into a purely buying and selling relationship? To make the claim that a publication cannot survive without the contributions of name writers is to underestimate the intelligence of the readers. The vast majority of the readers are quite capable of evaluating a piece of writing. What they look for is the quality of a product and not just the name of the writer. Furthermore, unless writers are given more ideological training and unless a stop is put to "preferential treatment," a situation will arise where one would forget one's integrity under the temptation of personal gains and a process of corrosion would set in. Unless arrested in time, the corrodent will spread like an infectious virus coursing through a healthy body until medical remedies will no longer be of avail. We should therefore learn from our past mistakes and heighten our vigilance.

It has also been said that writers cannot be held accountable for accepting favors offered to them inasmuch as they did not solicit them in the first place. Others claim that it would be impossible for a limited number of editors to read the volumes of manuscripts that have been submitted. Still others profess that they can see nothing wrong in exchanging favors between editors and writers since that is a common practice in all trades and professions. One can always defend oneself by looking for some pretext for one's wrongdoings. However, in whatever we do, we must first consider whether it is of benefit to the people and to the socialist cause. How can it be said that it is permissible to accept unwarranted favors and how can one claim that it is proper to engage in unhealthy practices because other people also engage in such practices? Is the shortage of hands a justifiable excuse for shirking one's responsibility toward readers and writers? Obviously, all these are lame excuses which cannot be justified.

Looked at from another angle, these unhealthy tendencies reflect certain weaknesses and signs of moral laxity on the literary front which merit our serious attention. Some publishing organizations have come forth with the excellent slogan that publishing organizations should be publishers rather than publishing peddlers. Literary magazines are important bastions on the party's literary front. They must at all times go about their business with a view to faithfully implementing the party's principles, serving the people and the cause of socialism and contributing toward

the establishment of a socialist spiritual civilization of a high order. Writers, editors and all comrades engaged in the profession are propaganda workers on behalf of the party, and they all have the sacred duty to educate the masses. It is our earnest hope that writers and literary publications will take the lead in establishing a healthy tendency in society.

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HONG KONG

BRIEFS

JIANG QING'S LIFE IN JAIL--Beijing, 4 Dec--The NPC and the CPPCC representatives have been discussing in groups all these days Premier Thao Ziyang's report on the work of the government and Minister Wang Bingqian's financial report. The discussion will be continued until this weekend. The NPC will hold its third meeting next Monday to listen to a report by Yang Shangkun on the work of the supreme people's court, President Jiang Hua will probably talk about the trial of the "gang of four" at the beginning of this year. Among the 10 principal criminals of the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, who were sentenced, Wu Faxian has been released for medical treatment and Chen Boda is, as it is said, under treatment in an isolation ward in a hospital in Beijing. It is also said that Jiang Qing is now in a jail in a southern scenic spot and what she is doing every day is no more than making dolls. Wang Hongwen behaves better in labor, but Yao Wenyan still lacks recognition of his crimes. [Reporter's Dispatch from Beijing: "How Things Stand With Jiang Qing and Associates"] [Text] [HK041456 Hong Kong HSIN WAN PAO in Chinese 4 Dec 81 p 4]

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